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MATERIALS FROM THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MEETING

MOSCOW, JUNE 5-17, 1969

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   The Main Document adopted by the Conference.

2. **On Guard for Peace!**
   An appeal to all Anti-Imperialists.

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6. **South Africa Speaks**
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MAIN DOCUMENT

Tasks at the present stage of the struggle against imperialism and united action of the Communist and Workers' Parties and all anti-imperialist forces.

The meeting of representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties took place in Moscow at a very important juncture in world development. Powerful revolutionary processes are gathering momentum throughout the world. Three mighty forces of our time—the world socialist system, the international working class and the national liberation movement—are coming together in the struggle against imperialism. The present phase is characterised by growing possibilities for a further advance of the revolutionary and progressive forces. At the same time, the dangers brought about by imperialism, by its policy of aggression, are growing. Imperialism, whose general crisis is deepening, continues to oppress many peoples and remains a constant threat to peace and social progress.

The existing situation demands united action of communists and all other anti-imperialist forces, so that maximum use may be made of the mounting possibilities for a broader offensive against imperialism, against the forces of reaction and war.

The meeting discussed urgent tasks of the struggle against imperialism and problems of united action by communists and all other anti-imperialist forces. As a result of the discussion, held in a spirit of democracy, equality and internationalism, the participants in the meeting reached common conclusions concerning the present world situation and the tasks arising from it.

I

IMPERIALISM

Mankind has entered the last third of our century in a situation marked by a sharpening of the historic struggle between the forces of progress and reaction, between socialism and imperialism. This clash is world wide and embraces all the basic spheres of social life: economy, politics, ideology and culture.

The world revolutionary movement continues its offensive despite the difficulties and setbacks of some of its contingents. Notwithstanding the counter offensives launched by it, imperialism has failed to change the general relationship of forces in its favour. It has been possible to prevent the outbreak of a world war, thanks to the growing economic, political and military might and the peace loving foreign policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist states; to the actions of the inter-

national proletariat and of all fighters against imperialism: to the struggle for national liberation; and also to the massive peace movement. Socialism, which has triumphed on one third of the globe, has scored new successes in the worldwide struggle for the hearts and minds of the people. The events of the past decade bear out that the Marxist-Leninist assessment of the character, content and chief trends of the present epoch is correct. Ours is an epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism.

At present there are real possibilities for resolving key problems of our time in the interests of peace, democracy, and socialism and to deal imperialism new blows. However, while the world system of imperialism has not grown stronger, it remains a serious and dangerous foe. The United States of America, the chief imperialist power, has grown more aggressive.

Aggressive policy

The core of the aggressive policy of imperialism is the drive to use all means to weaken the positions of socialism, suppress the national liberation movement, hamstring the struggle of the working people in the capitalist countries and halt the irreversible decline of capitalism.

Global in scale, the basic contradiction between imperialism and socialism is growing deeper. Under conditions where the struggle between the two world systems is becoming sharper, the capitalist powers seek, despite the growing contradictions dividing them, to unite their efforts to uphold and strengthen the system of exploitation and oppression and regain the positions they have lost. US imperialism strives to retain its influence over other capitalist countries and pursue a common policy with them in the main spheres of the class struggle.

The spearhead of the aggressive strategy of imperialism continues to be aimed first and foremost against the socialist countries. Imperialism does not forego open armed struggle against socialism. It ceaselessly intensifies the arms race and tries to activate the military blocs organised for aggression against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. It steps up its ideological fight against them and tries to hamper the economic development of the socialist countries.

In its actions against the working class movement imperialism violates democratic rights and freedoms and uses naked violence, brutal methods of police persecution and anti-labour legislation. Moreover, it has recourse to demagogy, bourgeois reformism and opportunist ideology and policy, and is constantly in quest of new methods to undermine the working class movement from within and "integrate" it into the capitalist system.

In its struggle against the national liberation movement, imperialism stubbornly defends the remnants of the colonial system on the one hand, and on the other uses methods of neo-colonialism in an effort to prevent the economic and social advance of developing states and of countries which have won national sovereignty. To this end it supports reactionary circles, retards the abolition of the most backward social structures and tries to obstruct progress along the road to socialism or along the road of progressive non-capitalist development, which can open the way to

socialism. The imperialists impose on these countries economic agreements and military political pacts which infringe on their sovereignty; they exploit these countries through the export of capital and unequal terms of trade; the manipulation of prices, exchange rates, loans and various forms of so-called aid; and pressure by international financial organisations.

The gulf between the highly developed capitalist states and the majority of the other countries of the capitalist world is growing wider; hunger is an acute problem in a number of the latter. Imperialism provokes friction in the developing countries and sows division between them by encouraging reactionary nationalism. Through anti-communism it tries to split the ranks of the revolutionaries in these countries and isolate them from their best friends—the socialist states and the revolutionary working class movement in the capitalist countries.

Through military political blocs, military bases in foreign countries, economic pressure and trade blockades, imperialism maintains tension in some areas of the world. It provides reactionary organisations with financial and political support and intensifies political oppression. It resorts to armed intervention and savage repression—especially in countries where the struggle acquires the most acute forms, and where the revolutionary forces fight arms in hand—counter-revolutionary conspiracies, reactionary and fascist coups, provocations and blackmail.

In face of the strengthening of the international positions of socialism, imperialism tries to weaken the unity of the world socialist system. It uses the differences in the international revolutionary movement in an effort to split its ranks. It places its ideological apparatus, including mass media, in the service of anti-communism and its struggle against all progressive forces.

In these past years, imperialism has time and again provoked sharp international crises which have pushed humanity to the brink of a thermo-nuclear conflict. However, US imperialism has to take into account the relationship of forces in the world, the nuclear potential of the Soviet Union and the possible consequences of a nuclear missile war, and it is becoming more and more difficult and dangerous for it to gamble on another world war. Therefore the ruling circles of the United States, without abandoning preparations for such a war, lay emphasis on local wars.

However, the contradiction between the imperialist "policy of strength" and the real possibilities of imperialism is becoming ever more evident. **Imperialism can neither regain its lost historical initiative nor reverse world development. The main direction of mankind's development is determined by the world socialist system, the international working class and all the revolutionary forces.**

Historic significance of Vietnam

The war in **Vietnam** is the most convincing proof of the contradiction between imperialism's aggressive plans and its ability to put these plans into effect. In Vietnam US imperialism, the most powerful of

the imperialist partners, is suffering defeat, and this is of historic significance.

The armed intervention in Vietnam holds a special place in the military and political designs of US imperialism. The aggressor planned to destroy an outpost of socialism in Asia, block the way for the peoples of South East Asia to freedom and progress, strike a blow at the national liberation movement, and test the strength of the proletarian solidarity of the socialist countries and the working people of the whole world.

Despite the huge quantity of armaments which it has brought into play, US imperialism has been compelled to cease the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam unconditionally, and to send its representatives to sit at the negotiating table with representatives of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

This has been brought about by the unexampled heroism of the Vietnamese people, the far-sighted policy of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, the many forms of assistance rendered to the Vietnamese people by the socialist countries, by the Soviet Union in particular, and the militant and ever growing international solidarity throughout the world, including the United States itself. The criminal intervention in Vietnam has resulted in considerable moral and political isolation for the United States. It has turned ever greater numbers of people, new social strata and political forces against imperialism and has speeded up the involvement of millions of young people in many countries in the anti-imperialist struggle. It has aggravated existing contradictions between the imperialist powers and created new ones. The successes of the heroic Vietnamese people are convincing proof that in our day it is becoming increasingly possible for peoples resolutely using all means to defend their independence, sovereignty and freedom, and enjoying broad international support, to defeat imperialist aggression.

In the **Middle East** a grave international crisis has been precipitated by the Israeli aggression against the United Arab Republic, Syria and Jordan. Through this aggression, imperialism, that of the US above all, tried to crush the progressive regimes in the Arab countries, undermine the Arab liberation movement, and preserve or regain their positions in the Middle East. This they have failed to do. Nevertheless, supported by world reaction, including Zionist circles, the ruling forces of Israel continue to ignore the demands of the Arab states and of the peace loving peoples, and the United Nations decisions on the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied territories, persist in their policy of expansion and annexation, and ceaselessly commit fresh armed provocations. This policy is opposed by the Communist Party and other progressive forces of Israel.

The Arab peoples resolutely continue the struggle to uphold their freedom, independence and national progress, to recover the occupied territories and for recognition of the national rights of the Arab people of Palestine.

The resistance movement against the occupation is growing, assuming

diverse forms, and is enjoying ever greater support. On the side of these peoples are the USSR and other socialist states, the international communist movement, the solidarity of the forces of national liberation, and ever wider public circles in the capitalist countries.

US imperialism has not abandoned its plans to strangle revolutionary **Cuba.** It continues to threaten the independence of the Republic of Cuba and, in flagrant contravention of international law, tries to blockade it economically and carries on provocative and subversive activity against it. But the courageous people of Cuba, led by their Communist Party and supported by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and the progressive forces of Latin America and the entire revolutionary movement, staunchly defend their sovereignty and freedom and thereby the outpost of socialism on the American continent.

In **Europe** the North Atlantic bloc, the chief instrument of imperialist aggression and adventurism, continues to be active. The axis of this bloc is the alliance between Washington and Bonn. Contrary to the will of the peoples of Europe, the ruling circles of the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany and Britain are doing their utmost to prolong the existence of this bloc, strengthen its organisation and maintain the military presence of the United States in Europe.

West German militarism, the main source of the war danger in the heart of Europe, was revived and grew strong mainly with NATO assistance. The imperialist ruling circles of the Federal Republic of Germany, where neo-nazism and militarism are gaining strength, persist in their revanchist programme of revising the results of the Second World War and of changing the frontiers of a number of European countries. This policy, aimed primarily against the German Democratic Republic, the first socialist workers' and peasants' state in German history, threatens the security of all European peoples and the peace of the world.

The **Mediterranean countries** occupy an important place in the plans of imperialism. US imperialism, which has important military bases in Spain, continues to support the Franco regime, thereby helping it to survive in opposition to the struggle of the fighting Spanish people. The US Sixth Fleet and the system of military bases, which are a threat to the peoples and to peace in this area, serve as a permanent instrument of political and military pressure in the Mediterranean. The repeated exacerbation of the situation in Cyprus and the fascist coup in Greece are likewise the handiwork of the imperialists, who support the Colonels' Junta.

South-East Asia and the Far East are one of the main areas of imperialist aggression and military gambles. In addition to SEATO, ANZUS and the so-called Security Treaty between the United States and Japan, there is the virtual occupation of the South Western Pacific and the Indian Ocean by US armed forces. This entire system is spearheaded primarily against the socialist countries of Asia, against the national liberation movement, as well as against the neutral and unaligned states in this area. The US imperialists continue to occupy Taiwan, which is an integral part of the People's Republic of China and obstruct the restoration of China's lawful rights in the United

Nations. The US imperialists continue armed provocations against the Korean Democratic People's Republic and maintain the military occupation of South Korea and exercise arbitrary rule, suppressing progressive forces striving for freedom and the unification of the country. They commit acts of aggression against Laos and provocations against Cambodia. They have set up and are enlarging strong military bases in Thailand. They persist in their attempt to pressurise India to abandon her path of non-alignment and independent economic development. The imperialists supported the anti-popular coup in Indonesia, carried out by reactionary circles who have physically destroyed hundreds of thousands of communists and other democrats and continue to commit bloody outrages; all this leads to the destruction of all the gains of the Indonesian revolution and threatens to deprive the country of her independence.

Imperialism has become more active in a number of **African** countries. It tries to halt the growth of the liberation struggle and preserve and strengthen its positions in that continent. The British and French imperialists, and the imperialists of the USA, West Germany and Japan, are making extensive use of neo-colonialist methods of economic, political and ideological infiltration and subjugation. The armed intervention in the Congo (Kinshasa), the reactionary coups in Ghana and some other countries, imperialist moves designed to dismember Nigeria, the political and military support given to reactionary and anti-national cliques and to the fascist and racialist regimes in the Republic of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, the fomenting of inter-state conflicts and inter-tribal strife, economic pressure and monopoly expansion—all serve to further the imperialist plans. The Portuguese colonialists, backed by NATO, try to keep their possessions by force of arms.

US imperialism continues to step up its economic penetration, as well as its political, ideological and cultural intervention in the **Latin American** countries. In alliance with the local reactionary forces it has been pursuing a policy designed to prevent the peoples from following the example of Cuba. It suppresses any step leading to economic and genuine political independence.

To promote this policy the US imperialists put forward the Alliance for Progress programme and resort to new, camouflaged forms of domination. They use the Organisation of American States and the inter-American military alliance, exert efforts to set up the so-called "Inter-American Peace Forces", and have claimed the right to intervene militarily against any Latin American country, as they have done against the Dominican Republic and against Panama.

The US imperialists maintain or install reactionary dictatorships, often by way of military coups, intensify splitting activities in the trade union movement, extend their influence over the armed and police forces and inspire repressions against the popular movement. They have taken a direct part in military operations against the guerrilla movement in some Latin American countries. However, the policy of US imperialism is encountering great difficulties. It is failing to stabilise reactionary regimes or secure the agreement of all the govern-

ments to the setting up of the "Inter-American Peace Forces". The Alliance for Progress programme has failed.

Other imperialist powers, particularly West Germany and Japan, likewise seek to entrench themselves on that continent.

Growing resistance

This policy of imperialist aggression, which threatens world peace and the security and independence of nations, is facing growing resistance in the capitalist countries from the working class, peasantry, young people, students and from the widest sections, irrespective of their political views and ideology. The mighty protest movement against US aggression in Vietnam strengthens the militant actions of the democratic forces against US imperialist policy as a whole and the policies of the governments supporting it.

The heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people has stimulated in Japan and other Asian countries the movement for closing US military bases, and the renunciation of the treaties which bind these countries to the policy of the Pentagon. In the USA itself—which is the main source of aggression—a militant mass movement against war and militarism has developed.

In Western Europe the movement against the aggressive NATO bloc, for the normalisation of relations and the development of co-operation between states and for safeguarding European security, encompasses ever wider strata of the population. Forces actively opposed to revanchism and militarism are growing in West Germany too. In countries where the USA maintains military bases, demands for eliminating these strongpoints of aggression are becoming more articulate.

The Latin American peoples are fighting against the oppression and brazen interference of US imperialism in their internal affairs. The strike movement of the workers and the actions of the peasants, students and other strata show that great numbers of people throughout the continent are intensifying resistance to the dictates of the USA and its military designs. In some countries the revolutionary forces are resorting to armed struggle against the domination of the oligarchy and imperialism. The national feelings of the peoples and economic difficulties might compel even some governments to take important measures against imperialism; this determines the tendency to establish or extend relations with socialist countries, including Cuba. The Communist and Workers' Parties are heading the democratic and anti-imperialist struggle, and despite persecution by reactionary camarillas they are fighting with dedication and courage for the demands of the masses and for revolutionary changes.

The upsurge of the national liberation movement of the Afro-Asian peoples has been a telling blow at the positions of imperialism on these continents. Despite serious difficulties, these people are continuing to struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism and are contributing to the general offensive against imperialism.

The events of the past decade have laid bare more forcefully than ever the nature of US imperialism as a world exploiter and gendarme, as the

sworn enemy of liberation movements. The US monopolies have penetrated the economy of dozens of countries, where they are increasing their capital investments and seeking to gain control of key positions in the economy.

West German imperialism is increasing its economic strength, building up its war machine, reaching out for nuclear weapons and intensifying its drive for domination over Western Europe. It opposes all steps leading to disarmament and the easing of international tension, and pursues a policy of neo-colonialism and expansion in relation to the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Despite the weakening of British imperialism, Britain remains one of the major imperialist powers and strives to maintain its positions in Africa, Asia, the Caribbean and the Middle East by neo-colonialist methods and sometimes by direct military intervention. On the principal issues of world politics Britain acts as one of the most active partners of the United States. It is a leading aggressive force in NATO and seeks a closer alliance with West Germany.

Japanese imperialism is gaining in strength, intensifying its expansion, especially in Asia. Militarism is again rearing its head in Japan. Linked by many ties with US imperialism, the ruling circles of Japan have virtually turned the country into a US arsenal in the war against the Vietnamese people, and are taking part in conspiracies against the Korean people.

French imperialism tries to maintain and consolidate its positions in the world economy and politics. It persistently continues to build up a nuclear strike force and refuses to join in measures that would promote disarmament. It retains its colonial domination over the peoples of Guadeloupe, Martinique, Réunion and some countries of Africa and Oceania and refuses to recognise their right to self-determination and to govern their own affairs. It uses the influence it still has in its former colonies and, employing new methods of colonialist policy, is particularly active in Africa.

Italian monopoly capital is likewise stepping up its expansion.

Inter-imperialist contradictions

Economic development is becoming more uneven among the various imperialist powers and in the capitalist world as a whole. Life demonstrates the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist theory of struggle between the imperialist powers and between the capitalist monopolies for spheres of influence. Industrial and commercial competition is growing sharper, and the financial and currency war is spreading. Competition is growing in Western Europe including the Common Market, and also between the capitalist countries of Europe and the USA. Japanese imperialism is energetically joining this struggle for markets and maximum profits.

The inter-imperialist contradictions are manifest not only in the economic sphere. NATO is undergoing a serious crisis. The aggressive blocs established in Asia—Cento and SEATO—are beginning to crack up. Western Europe is becoming an arena of discord among the capitalist countries. This weakens the world system of imperialism and upsets US imperialism's plans for hegemony.

Contradictions are also growing deeper within the ruling circles of the imperialist countries, between the most belligerent groups who gamble on extreme measures, on war, and those who, taking into account the new relationship of class forces in the world and the growing might of the socialist countries, tend to take a more realistic approach to international problems and to solve them in the spirit of peaceful coexistence between states with different systems. The ruling circles of some countries realise the need to reckon with the real situation which has taken shape in Europe as a result of the war and of post-war development, and are beginning to see that the German Democratic Republic must be recognised. A number of countries have recognised the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the People's Republic of China, despite US pressure.

The Communist and Workers' Parties, the working class and the anti-imperialist forces take into account all the contradictions in the enemy camp, and strive to deepen and utilise them in the interest of peace and progress.

Each imperialist power pursues its own aims. At the same time together they form the chain of the world system of imperialism.

Present day imperialism, which is trying to adapt itself to the conditions of the struggle between the two systems and to the demands of the scientific and technological revolution, has some new features. Its state monopoly character is becoming more pronounced. It resorts ever more extensively to such instruments as state stimulated monopolistic concentration of production and capital, redistribution by the state of an increasing proportion of the national income, allocation of war contracts to the monopolies, government financing of industrial development and research programmes, the drawing up of economic development programmes on a country wide scale, the policy of imperialist integration and new forms of capital export.

However, state monopoly regulation exercised in forms and on a scale which meets the interests of monopoly capital and is aimed at preserving its rule, is unable to control the spontaneous forces of the capitalist market. Practically no capitalist state has been able to avoid considerable cyclical fluctuations and slumps in its economy; in some countries periods of rapid industrial growth alternate with periods in which there is a slowdown and often a drop in production. The capitalist system is in the grip of an acute monetary and financial crisis.

The scientific and technological revolution offers mankind unprecedented possibilities to transform nature, to produce immense material wealth and to multiply man's creative capabilities. These possibilities should serve the general welfare, but capitalism is using the scientific and technological revolution to increase its profits and intensify the exploitation of the working people.

The scientific and technological revolution accelerates the socialisation of the economy; under monopoly domination this leads to the reproduction of social antagonisms on a growing scale and in a sharper form. Not only have the long standing contradictions of capitalism been aggravated, but new ones have arisen as well. This applies, in particular to the contradiction between the unlimited possibilities opened up by the scientific and technological revolution, and the

obstructions raised by capitalism to their utilisation for the benefit of society as a whole. Capitalism squanders national wealth, allocating for war purposes a great proportion of scientific discoveries and immense material resources. This is the contradiction between the social character of present day production and the state monopoly nature of its regulation. This is not only the growth of the contradiction between capital and labour, but also the deepening of the antagonism between the interests of the overwhelming majority of the nation and those of the financial oligarchy.

Even in the most developed capitalist countries, millions of people suffer the torments of unemployment, want and insecurity. Contrary to assertions about the "revolution in incomes" and "social partnership," capitalist exploitation is in fact increasing. The rise in wages lags far behind the growth rates of labour productivity and the intensification of labour, behind the social needs and even more so behind the growth of monopoly profits. The position of the small farmers continues to deteriorate, and the living conditions of a considerable part of the middle strata are becoming more difficult.

Growing crises

The instability of the capitalist system has increased. Social and political crises are breaking out in many countries, in the course of which the working people are becoming aware of the necessity of deep going and decisive changes.

This became primarily evident from the events in France in May and June 1968, from the powerful strike movement there, in which the communists played an important role and the working people made considerable gains. A serious clash took place in that country between the working class and considerable sections of the intellectuals and students on the one hand, and the Gaullist regime and monopoly rule, on the other. This clash opened up new possibilities for the struggle for democracy and socialism.

In Italy the steady growth of the strike movement on a national scale, the big political battles and the electoral successes of the left wing forces strongly shook the policy of the Centre Left, which the ruling classes reckoned on using to stabilise capitalism.

In Spain, the struggle of the masses continues to undermine the fascist dictatorship of Franco, which was compelled to introduce emergency measures; despite these repressions, the struggle is expanding, and new social strata and broad social circles are joining the anti-Franco opposition.

In Great Britain major class battles are unfolding, including political strikes in defence of the trade unions and of the right to strike, which are under attack by the Labour government.

Class battles, strikes and other actions by the working people, students and other sections of the people have been stepped up in Japan, Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, the Federal Republic of Germany, Uruguay, Belgium, Portugal, Chile, India, Pakistan, Turkey and other countries, and also in West Berlin. The growth of the democratic movement has also been reflected in the electoral achievements of the communists and

other progressive forces in a number of countries, including Japan. Democratic front governments, including communists, have been formed in some states of India. In Finland the communists take part in the government.

Moreover the depth of the crisis in the capitalist world is also strikingly revealed by the advance of the mass struggle in the United States itself, that main pillar of world imperialism. A wave of rebellions against racial discrimination, poverty, starvation and police brutality has swept the Negro ghettoes. Scores of American cities and towns have been the scene of fierce clashes with troops and police, which took a great toll of lives and led to the arrest of thousands of Negroes.

In the USA militant strikes for economic demands take place often in defiance of government pressure and threats and contrary to the will of reactionary trade union officials. In the unions the rank and file and progressive forces are becoming more active. Large sections of the working people oppose the Vietnam war.

Intellectual, professional and religious circles in the USA are becoming more and more active in the movement of social protest and for peace. Young people, students in particular, black and white, are in revolt in different ways against the Vietnam war, military conscription, racialism, and monopoly control of universities. Reaction replies to this with the assassination of public figures, mounting repression and massive violence. The notorious "American way of life" is being discredited in the eyes of the world.

Everywhere the monopoly capitalists try to create the illusion that everything the working people aspire to can be achieved without a revolutionary transformation of the existing system. To conceal its exploiting and aggressive nature, capitalism resorts to theoretical whitewash—"people's capitalism," the "welfare state," the "affluent society," etc. The revolutionary working class movement exposes these concepts and wages a determined struggle against them. It thus deepens the crisis of imperialist ideology; increasing numbers of people are turning away from this ideology.

The conscience and intellect of mankind cannot be reconciled with the crimes of imperialism. Imperialism bears the guilt for two world wars which snuffed out the lives of tens of millions of people. It has created a gigantic military machine which devours tremendous human and material resources. Intensifying the armaments race, it plans the production of new weapons for decades ahead. It is fraught with the threat of a thermonuclear world war which would annihilate hundreds of millions of people and turn entire countries into deserts.

Imperialism gave birth to fascism—the system of political terror and death camps. Wherever it can, imperialism wages an offensive against democratic rights and liberties; it tramples underfoot human dignity and cultivates racialism.

Imperialism is responsible for the hardship and suffering of hundreds of millions of people. It is chiefly to blame for the fact that vast masses of people in Asian, African and Latin American countries are compelled to live in conditions of poverty, disease and illiteracy and under archaic social relations, and that entire nationalities are doomed to extinction.

The course of social development shows that imperialism comes into conflict with the vital interests of workers by hand and by brain, of different social strata, peoples and nations. As a result growing numbers of working people, social movements and entire peoples are rising against imperialism.

The working class, the democratic and revolutionary forces, the peoples, must unite and act jointly in order to put an end to imperialism's criminal actions which can bring still graver suffering to mankind. To curb the aggressors and liberate mankind from imperialism is the mission of the working class, of all the anti-imperialist forces fighting for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.

II

ANTI-IMPERIALIST FORCES

The world socialist system is the decisive force in the anti-imperialist struggle. Every liberation struggle receives indispensable aid from the world socialist system, and above all from the Soviet Union.

The Great October Socialist Revolution, the building of socialism in the Soviet Union, the victory over German fascism and Japanese militarism in the Second World War, the triumph of the revolution in China and in a number of other countries in Europe and Asia, the emergence of the first socialist state in America, the Republic of Cuba, the rise and development of the world socialist system, comprising 14 states, and the inspiring influence of socialism on the entire world, have created the prerequisites for accelerating historical progress, and have opened new prospects for the advance and triumph of socialism throughout the world.

Socialism has shown mankind the prospect of deliverance from imperialism. The new social system based on public ownership of the means of production and on the power of the working people is capable of ensuring the planned, crisis free development of the economy in the interest of the people, guaranteeing the social and political rights of the working people, creating conditions for genuine democracy, for real participation by the broad masses of people in the administration of society, for all round development of the individual and for the equality and friendship of nations. It has been proved in fact that only socialism is capable of solving the fundamental problems facing mankind.

The contribution of the world socialist system to the common cause of the anti-imperialist forces is determined primarily by its growing economic potential. The swift economic development of the countries belonging to the socialist system at rates outpacing the economic growth of the capitalist countries, the advance of socialism to leading positions in a number of fields of scientific and technological progress, and the blazing of a trail into outer space by the Soviet Union—all these tangible results, produced by the creative endeavours of the peoples of the socialist countries, decisively contribute to the preponderance of the forces of peace, democracy and socialism over imperialism.

The socialist world has now entered a stage of its development when the possibility arises of utilising on a scale far greater than ever before the tremendous potentialities inherent in the new system. This is furthered by evolving and applying better economic and political forms corresponding to the requirements of mature socialist society, which already rests on the new social structure. The building of socialism and its further development rests on the support, participation and initiative of the working people, inspired and led by the working class. The Communist Party is the vanguard of socialist society as a whole. The forces of socialism are strengthened and the unity of will and action of the people is promoted by the steadily increasing political activity of the working people, by the greater activity of the social organisations, by the extension of the rights of the individual, by irreconcilable struggle against manifestations of bureaucracy and by the all round development of socialist democracy. The improvement of socialist democracy, the growth of the productive forces, the political and cultural progress, the superiority of human and moral values enhance the influence of socialism on the working people of the world and reinforce its positions in the struggle against imperialism, a struggle of world wide significance.

Complex process

Practice has shown that socialist transformations and the building of the new society are a long and complex process, and that the utilisation of the tremendous possibilities opened up by the new system depends on the Communist Parties in the leadership of the state, on their ability to resolve the problems of socialist development the Marxist-Leninist way.

The application of science in various social and economic fields, and the full utilisation of the potentialities opened up by the scientific and technological revolution for speeding up economic development and for satisfying the needs of all members of society are made possible by socialist ownership, the planned organisation of production, and the active participation of workers by hand and by brain in guiding and managing the economy. An important requisite for the development of socialist society is to give full scope to the scientific and technological revolution, which has become one of the main sectors of the historic competition between capitalism and socialism.

The formation of the socialist world constitutes an integral part of the class struggle being waged in the international arena. The enemies of socialism are keeping up their attempts to undermine the foundations of the socialist state power, thwart the socialist transformation of society and restore their own rule. To give a firm rebuff to these attempts is an essential function of the socialist state, which relies on the working people led by the working class and its communist vanguard.

The defence of socialism is an internationalist duty of communists.

The development and strengthening of each socialist country is a vital condition of the progress of the world socialist system as a whole. Successful development of the national economy, improvement of

social relations and the all round progress of each socialist country conform both to the interests of each people separately and the common cause of socialism.

One of the most important tasks before the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries is to develop all embracing co-operation between their countries, and ensure fresh successes in the decisive areas of the economic competition between the two systems, in the advance of science and technology. As the struggle between the two world systems grows sharper, this competition demands that on the basis of the socialist countries' fundamental interests and aims of the Marxist-Leninist principles underlying their policy, the socialist system should place greater reliance on the international socialist division of labour and voluntary co-operation between them, which rules out any infringement of national interests, and ensures the advance of each country and consolidates the might of the world socialist system as a whole.

Relying on its steadily growing economic and defence potential, the world socialist system fetters imperialism, reduces its possibilities of exporting counter-revolution, and in fulfilment of its internationalist duty, furnishes increasing aid to the peoples fighting for freedom and independence, and promotes peace and international security. So long as the aggressive NATO bloc exists, the Warsaw Treaty Organisation has an important role to play in safeguarding the security of the socialist countries against armed attack by the imperialist powers and in ensuring peace.

The successes of socialism, its impact on the course of world events and the effectiveness of its struggle against imperialist aggression largely depend on the cohesion of the socialist countries. Unity of action of the socialist countries is an important factor in bringing together all anti-imperialist forces.

The establishment of international relations of a new type and the development of the fraternal alliance of the socialist countries is a complex historical process. Following the victory of the socialist revolution in many countries, the building of socialism on the basis of general laws is proceeding in various forms, which take into account concrete historical conditions and national distinctions. Successful development of this process implies strict adherence to the principles of proletarian internationalism, mutual assistance and support, equality, sovereignty and non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

Socialism is not afflicted with the contradictions inherent in capitalism. When divergences between socialist countries do arise, owing to differences in the level of economic development, in social structure or international position or because of national distinctions, they can and must be successfully settled on the basis of proletarian internationalism, through comradely discussion and voluntary fraternal co-operation. They need not disrupt the united front of socialist countries against imperialism.

Communists are aware of the difficulties in the development of the world socialist system. But this system is based on the identity of the social and economic structure of its member countries, and on the identity of their fundamental interests and objectives. This identity is an earnest that the existing difficulties will be overcome, and that

the unity of the socialist system will be further strengthened on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

In the citadels of capitalism the working class, as recent events have shown, is the principal driving force of the revolutionary struggle and of the entire anti-imperialist, democratic movement.

The present period is characterised by a sharpening of the struggle of the working class and of wide sections of working people not only for an improvement of their economic conditions but also for political demands. While defending their vital interests, the working people fight for social rights and democratic freedoms. These demands are increasingly directed against the system of domination by monopoly capital, against its political power. The desire of the working people to effect a radical change in the economic and social system based on the exploitation of man is growing ever stronger. The big battles of the working class in a number of capitalist countries are undermining the power of the monopolies and intensifying the instability and contradictions of capitalist society. These struggles foreshadow new class battles which could lead to fundamental social change, socialist revolution, and the establishment of the power of the working class in alliance with other sections of the working people.

Recent class battles have struck a blow at the illusions spread by partisans of neo-capitalism and reformism, and have given fresh proof of the basic propositions of Marxism-Leninism. In contrast to the right and left opportunists, the Communist and Workers' Parties do not counterpose the fight for deep going economic and social demands and for advanced democracy against the struggle for socialism, but regard it as a part of the struggle for socialism. The radical democratic changes which will be achieved in the struggle against the monopolies and their economic domination and political power will promote awareness of the need for socialism among the people.

Working class unity

In the new situation, the need for working class unity has become even more urgent. Facts and the experience gained by the working class in the course of their struggles, and the sharp criticism of opportunist views by the Communist and Workers' Parties—which remains a constant task—deepen the crisis of reformist concepts. A differentiation is taking place in the ranks of social democracy, and this is also reflected in the leadership. Some of the leaders come out in defence of monopoly capital and imperialism. Others are more inclined to take into account the demands of the working people in the economic and social fields and on the questions of the struggle for peace and progress.

Communists, who attribute decisive importance to working class unity, are in favour of co-operation with the socialists and social democrats to establish an advanced democratic regime today and to build a socialist society in the future. They will do everything they can to carry out this co-operation. Communists are likewise in favour of co-operation with other democratic parties and organisations interested in the renewal of society. To advance on this path, it is, of course,

necessary for the socialist parties and other political organisations favouring socialism resolutely to break with the policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, and to pursue a policy of effective struggle for peace, democracy and socialism.

The trade unions, the largest organisations of the working people, play an important role in the struggle against the monopolies. But for the division in the trade union movement in the capitalist world they might be playing an even larger role. Some leaders create artificial obstacles to unity of action by trade unions of different orientation, on a national and international scale, but the desire for such unity has, nonetheless, been growing in the trade union movement in recent years. Communists are consistent champions of trade union unity within the framework of each country and in the international arena.

The communist policy of united action by all the parties of the working class and the trade unions draws growing support. This policy of unity affords the working class movement greater opportunities in the anti-imperialist struggle, and makes it possible to bring into this struggle that section of the proletariat which is still unorganised or still follows bourgeois parties. Communists will improve their political and ideological work with an eye to securing working class unity.

Domination by finance capital and the realisation of "agrarian programmes" by the monopolist states lead to the ruin of ever larger sections of the small and middle farmers. Lately the farmers have been putting up growing resistance to these measures, conducting mass actions supported by urban working people. The strengthening of the alliance of workers and farmers is one of the basic prerequisites for the success of the struggle against the monopolies and their power.

Big capital tramples on the vital interests of the majority of the urban middle strata. Therefore, despite their lack of unity and their special susceptibility to bourgeois ideology, large numbers of the middle strata are coming forward in defence of their interests, joining the struggle for general democratic demands, and becoming increasingly conscious of the vital importance of united action with the working class.

In this age when science is becoming a direct productive force, growing numbers of intellectuals are swelling the ranks of wage and salary workers. Their social interests intertwine with those of the working class; their creative aspirations clash with the interests of the monopoly employers, who place profit above all else. Despite the great diversity in their positions, various groups of intellectuals are coming more and more into conflict with the monopolies and the imperialist policy of governments. The crisis of bourgeois ideology and the attraction of socialism help to bring intellectuals into the anti-imperialist struggle. The alliance of workers by hand and by brain is becoming an increasingly important force in the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress, for the democratic control of production, of cultural institutions and information media, and for the development of public education in the interests of the people.

The convergence of interests of the working class, farmers, urban middle strata and intellectuals, as well as their growing co-operation reduce the social foundations of monopoly power, sharpen its internal

contradictions and promote the mobilisation of wide sections of people for the struggle against monopolies and imperialism.

The numerical growth and mounting political activity of young people have become an important factor in social affairs in Western Europe, America, Japan, Turkey and other countries.

Action by young people reflects the deep going crisis of contemporary bourgeois society. Working youth, primarily young industrial workers, who are subjected to super-exploitation and see no prospect for themselves under capitalism, are entering the class struggle to an ever greater extent, joining the trade unions and communist and other democratic organisations. Broad masses of students take a stand not only against the defects of the obsolete system of education and for the right to organise and share actively in the affairs of educational centres, but also against the policy of the ruling classes. Inspired by the struggle of the Vietnamese people and by other examples of heroic struggle against imperialism, growing numbers of young people take an active part in major mass actions against imperialism, for democracy, peace and socialism.

Communists have high regard for the upsurge of the youth movement and actively participate in it. They propagate in its ranks the ideas of scientific socialism, explain the danger of various pseudo-revolutionary ideas which could influence young people, and seek to help young people find the right path in the struggle against imperialism and for defence of their interests. Only close unity with the working class movement and its communist vanguard can open for them truly revolutionary prospects.

An important feature of our epoch is the large scale participation of women in the class struggle, the anti-imperialist movement and, in particular, the struggle for peace. This is strikingly demonstrated in the massive protest campaigns against the US aggression in Vietnam. The number of women engaged in production and other spheres is increasing. Their political consciousness is growing and their struggle for economic and social rights is becoming more active. Working women demand an end to discrimination in the remuneration for their work, full equality in civil rights, maternity protection programmes, and so on. They are participating more and more actively in the battles of the workers and democratic forces, and are joining the trade unions in increasing numbers. The Communist and Workers' Parties, in whose activity women members participate on the basis of complete equality, emphatically support their demands and regard the emancipation of women as an important element of the general democratic movement.

The examples of the socialist countries, where women are guaranteed full equality, is a great attraction to women engaged in struggle in the capitalist world.

Anti-monopoly alliance

Owing to the considerable aggravation of social contradictions, conditions have arisen in many capitalist countries for an anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist alliance of the revolutionary working class movement and great numbers of religious people. The Catholic Church and

some other religious organisations are experiencing an ideological crisis, which is shattering their age long concepts and existing structures. Positive co-operation and joint action between communists and broad democratic masses of Catholics and followers of other religions are developing in some countries. The dialogue between them on issues such as war and peace, capitalism and socialism, and neo-colonialism and the problem of the developing countries, has become highly topical; their united action against imperialism, for democracy and socialism, is extremely timely. Communists are convinced that in this way—through broad contacts and joint action—the mass of religious people can become an active force in the anti-imperialist struggle and in carrying out far reaching social changes.

In the course of anti-monopolist and anti-imperialist united action, favourable conditions are created for uniting all democratic trends into a political alliance capable of decisively limiting the role played by the monopolies in the economies of the countries concerned of putting an end to the power of big capital and of bringing about such radical political and economic changes as would ensure the most favourable conditions for continuing the struggle for socialism. The main force in this democratic alliance is the working class. These objectives can be achieved, above all, by diverse forms of powerful mass action by the working class and the broadest sections of the population. While making use of all possibilities of parliamentary activity, communists emphasise that the mass movement of the working class and of all working people is the decisive factor in the struggle for democracy and socialism.

The collapse of the colonial system has considerably weakened the position of imperialism. **In the past decade the role of the anti-imperialist movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in the world revolutionary process has continued to grow.** In some countries, this movement is acquiring an anti-capitalist content.

In many **Asian and African** countries the national liberation movement has entered a new phase. A large number of national states has emerged in this area, substantially altering the world political structure and changing the balance of power to the detriment of imperialism. The old colonial empires have been almost completely abolished.

Of great importance for the future of Africa and the cause of peace is the liberation of Southern Africa, one of the last areas of colonial domination. The armed struggle which is being waged in this area by the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa is inflicting heavy blows on the coalition of fascist and racialist regimes, which are supported by the imperialists, and is opening up prospects for fresh big victories of the African revolution.

The Arab liberation movement is playing an outstanding role in the battle waged against world imperialism. It is exerting a positive influence on the entire movement against imperialism and neo-colonialism in the Middle East and Africa. The struggle of the Arab peoples against imperialism and the Israeli aggression is a part of the general struggle between the forces of freedom and socialism throughout the world on the one hand, and world imperialism on the other.

The growth of the movement for national liberation, and the social

progress of the peoples in this area, which is strategically important and is rich in oil, evoke the violent hatred of the imperialists and the oil monopolies, which are weaving a web of intrigues and plots against this movement, and are resorting to wars and aggressive actions.

To defeat these plots, repel acts of aggression and preserve all the gains of the Arab movement, increasingly deep social and economic changes, progressive national fronts and democratic rights for the people and for the progressive national forces are, among other things, of key importance.

Newly independent countries

Social differentiation is developing in the newly independent countries. There is a sharpening conflict between the working class, the peasantry and other democratic forces, including patriotic minded sections of the petty bourgeoisie on the one hand, and on the other imperialism and the forces of domestic reaction, the elements of the national bourgeoisie which are increasingly accepting a deal with imperialism.

In a number of young states the social role and political activity of the working class have increased. The importance of international ties between the young proletariat of the countries of Asia and Africa and the working class of the socialist countries and the capitalist states is growing.

The toiling peasantry has great revolutionary potential. It is taking an active part in the struggle against imperialism, for the national liberation of peoples, and for consolidating the independence of the young states. Communists are intensifying their activity among the peasants and are carrying proletarian ideology into their midst.

In most of the independent Asian and African states, along with the task of consolidating and safeguarding political independence and sovereignty, the central problems of social progress are to overcome economic backwardness, set up an independent national economy including their own industry, and raise the people's standard of living. The solution of these problems involves far reaching social and economic changes, the implementation of democratic agrarian reforms in the interests of the working peasantry and with its participation, the abolition of out-dated feudal and pre-feudal relations, the ending of oppression by foreign monopolies, the radical democratisation of social and political life and the state apparatus, the regeneration of national culture and the development of its progressive traditions, the strengthening of revolutionary parties and the founding of such parties where they do not yet exist. The pressing problems of social development of these states are the object not only of sharp struggle between the neo-colonialists and the peoples of these countries, but also of internal social conflicts. The establishment of relations of friendship and effective co-operation with socialist countries is of great importance for independent Asian and African countries.

Under the impact of the revolutionary conditions of our time, distinctive forms of progressive social development of the newly free countries have appeared, and the role of revolutionary and democratic

forces has been enhanced. Some young states have taken the non-capitalist path, a path which opens up the possibility of overcoming the backwardness inherited from the colonial past and creates conditions for transition to socialist development. In these countries a socialist outlook is making headway, overcoming great difficulties and trials. These states are waging a determined struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism.

Countries which have taken the capitalist road have been unable to solve any of the basic problems facing them. Confronted with rising popular discontent, the internal reactionary forces in these countries are intensifying with imperialist support their assault on democratic freedoms. In a number of cases they are brutally suppressing the mass democratic and patriotic movements. They are kindling conflicts between national, ethnic, religious, tribal and linguistic groups, thereby jeopardising the independence won by these countries.

The imperialists show special hostility toward states with with progressive regimes. To turn these countries away from their chosen path the imperialists seek to subvert their political parties, subject educational and cultural institutions and mass media to their influence, organise counter-revolutionary activities through their agents and back reactionary elements in the state apparatus and the armed forces. They try to utilise anti-communist prejudices to spread discord among patriots.

The way to carry out the tasks of national development and social progress and effectively rebuff neo-colonialist intrigues is to raise the activity of the people, enhance the role of the proletariat and the peasants, rally working youth, students, intellectuals, urban middle strata and democratic army circles—all the patriotic and progressive forces. It is this kind of unity that the Communist and Workers' Parties are calling for.

Communists fight for the freedom, national independence and socialist future of their peoples. They are bearers of the ideas of scientific socialism and fight in the vanguard of the national liberation movement. This movement and the social progress of the peoples in the newly liberated countries requires close co-operation between the Communist and Workers' Parties and the other patriotic and progressive forces. A hostile attitude to communism and persecution of communists harm the struggle for national and social emancipation.

Most of the **Latin American** countries won state independence early in the last century. They have, by and large, travelled a long way along the road of capitalist development; a large proletariat has emerged and is growing and becoming steeled in struggle both in town and country, and there are Communist Parties in practically all these countries. The Latin American peoples are struggling against a common oppressor and exploiter, US imperialism, which has placed the entire continent in a position of dependence, regarding it as its strategic hinterland. Some of them are still fighting colonial domination. The struggle for genuine national sovereignty and economic independence is intertwined with an acute class struggle against capitalist exploitation and, above all, against the foreign or local monopolies and the latifundia. Feudal survivals have remained in many countries where there is a

great mass of landless peasants. Struggles are being waged for democratic demands and against tyrannical dictatorships, which latter constitute a very negative factor in the historical development of the continent.

The Cuban revolution has broken the chain of imperialist oppression in Latin America and has led to the establishment of the first socialist state on the American continent, marking a historic turning point and opening in this region a new phase of the revolutionary movement. In this part of the world militant democratic, anti-imperialist movements and revolutionary processes are developing which will pave the way to socialism.

The proletariat and the Communist and Workers' Parties play an increasingly important role in the anti-imperialist movement in Latin America. The existence and activity of the working class is an historic advantage and a guarantee of its further development. The struggle of the people for their economic and political demands and for their revolutionary aims assumes diverse forms. The popular movement in Latin America is gaining momentum in a grim struggle against aggressive imperialism and internal reaction. In some countries it takes the road of armed struggle. In the course of this struggle the fighting spirit of the working class grows, the political consciousness of the peasantry is awakened, and the rural population is aroused. The foundations of a workers' and peasants' alliance are thus being laid.

Wide sections of people, students, progressive intellectuals and the urban middle strata are forming an alliance with the proletariat. Joint action and anti-imperialist unity against reactionary regimes are gaining in strength. The mounting struggle against exploitation and poverty, and against imperialist oppression makes forward looking religious circles sympathise with progressive aspirations. Patriotic and democratic trends are gaining ground in the armed forces of some countries.

It is of paramount importance for the prospects of the anti-imperialist struggle to strengthen the alliance between the socialist system, the forces of the working class movement and national liberation.

III

FOR UNITED ACTION

The social and political situation in the world today makes it possible to raise the anti-imperialist struggle to a new level. Decisive superiority over imperialism and the defeat of its policy of aggression and war can be secured by intensifying the offensive against it. This insistently demands concrete practical steps and actions on all continents in order to give a clear perspective to the democratic and progressive forces, to all the forces desiring a positive solution of the major problems worrying mankind today, in the interests of peace and the security of nations.

The Communist and Workers' Parties represented at the meeting, aware of their historic responsibility, propose united action to all communists of the world, to all opponents of imperialism and to all who are prepared to fight for peace, freedom and progress.

A primary objective of united action is to give **all-round support to the heroic Vietnamese people.** The meeting calls on all who cherish peace and national independence to intensify the struggle in order to compel US imperialism to withdraw its interventionist troops from Vietnam, cease interfering in the internal affairs of that country and respect the right of the Vietnamese people to solve their problems by themselves. The final victory of the Vietnamese patriots is of fundamental importance for strengthening the positions of the peoples in the struggle against imperialist *diktat* and arbitrary rule. Co-ordinated measures by all the countries of the socialist system and joint efforts by all Communist and Workers' Parties, all progressive parties and mass democratic organisations and by all other freedom and peace loving forces are needed to hasten this victory. The meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties welcomes the formation of the Revolutionary Provisional Government of the Republic of South Vietnam and sees it as an important stage in the heroic liberation struggle of the Vietnamese people. The meeting calls for work for the successful outcome of the Paris talks, which is quite possible on the basis of the 10 points advanced by the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

The main link of united action of the anti-imperialist forces remains the struggle against war and for world peace, against the menace of thermonuclear war and mass extermination which continues to hang over mankind. A new world war can be averted by the combined effort of the socialist countries, the international working class, the national liberation movement, all peace loving countries, public organisations and mass movements.

The defence of peace is inseparably linked up with the struggle to compel the imperialists to accept peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, which demands observance of the principles of sovereignty, equality, territorial inviolability of every state, big and small, and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, respect for the rights of every people freely to decide their social, economic and political system, and the settlement of outstanding international issues by political means through negotiation.

The policy of peaceful coexistence facilitates the positive solution of economic and social problems of the developing countries.

Peaceful coexistence

The policy of peaceful coexistence does not contradict the right of any oppressed people to fight for its liberation by any means it considers necessary—armed or peaceful. This policy in no way signifies support for reactionary regimes.

It is equally indisputable that every people has the inalienable right to take up arms in defence against encroachments by imperialist aggressors, and to avail itself of the help of other peoples in its just cause. This is an integral part of the general anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples.

The attempts of imperialism to overcome its internal contradictions by building up international tension and creating hotbeds of war are hampered by the policy of peaceful coexistence. This policy does not imply either the preservation of the social and political *status quo* or a

weakening of the ideological struggle. It helps to promote the class struggle against imperialism on a national and world wide scale. Determined class struggle for the abolition of the monopolies and their rule, for the institution of a genuinely democratic system and for the establishment of socialist power, whatever may be the road leading to the achievement of this goal, is an inalienable right and duty of the working people and their Communist and Workers' Parties in the capitalist countries. The communists of the world are in solidarity with this just battle.

Mass action against imperialism is a condition for implementing the policy of peaceful coexistence. Directed as it is against the warmongers, reactionaries and monopoly arms manufacturers, this policy meets the general interests of the revolutionary struggle against every form of oppression and exploitation, and promotes friendship between all peoples and the development of fruitful economic, scientific, technological and other spheres of co-operation between countries with different social systems in the interests of social progress.

Communists regard it as their duty to combat the imperialists' policy of whipping up international tension and any attempt by them aimed at bringing back the cold war, and to work for a relaxation of tension which is one of the most insistent and urgent demands of the peoples.

To preserve peace the most urgent task is to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons and to enforce the nuclear non-proliferation treaty. In urging the ratification of the treaty, the Communist and Workers' Parties see this as a link in the chain of measures designed to lead to nuclear disarmament and the destruction of nuclear weapon stockpiles. At the same time it is necessary to secure a ban on nuclear weapons and the ending of their production and testing.

The setting up of nuclear free zones in various parts of the world would be of great practical importance in improving the international atmosphere and strengthening trust between states. **The main effort should be directed towards the prohibition of nuclear weapons. Nuclear energy should be used exclusively for peaceful purposes.**

It is necessary to step up the struggle for an effective ban on bacteriological and chemical weapons, which have been extensively used by the US forces in Vietnam.

The basic interests of the peoples demand the intensification of the struggle against militarism in all its forms, particularly against the military industrial complex of the USA and other imperialist states. We call on all peace loving forces to mount a struggle for a radical cutback in military budgets and for general and complete disarmament under effective international control, so as to switch resources now absorbed by the arms race to improving the working people's life, promoting the health services and education and rendering assistance to the developing countries.

Alongside its universal tasks, the struggle for peace has very important objectives of a more specific or more regional nature, the aim of which is to assure security in some continents or geographic zones. The attainment of these objectives which are interlinked corresponds to the interests and aspirations of all communists, all anti-imperialist forces, all the peoples of the world.

European security

The interests of world peace call for the disbandment of military blocs. As before the Communist and Workers' Parties consider that the existence of imperialist imposed military blocs and military bases on the territory of other states are an obstacle to co-operation between countries. A genuine guarantee of the security and one of the conditions for the progress of each European country must be the establishment in Europe of an effective system of security founded on relations of equality and mutual respect between all the states in the continent, on the combined efforts of all the European peoples. In this light the socialist countries have already declared for the simultaneous dissolution of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty.

The meeting emphatically condemns the provocative attempts of the imperialist powers, particularly the USA, the Federal Republic of Germany and Britain, to step up the activity of NATO. The disbandment of NATO would be a decisive step towards the dissolution of all blocs, the dismantling of all military bases on foreign soil and the establishment of a reliable system of collective security. In conformity with the interests of peace, the peoples demand that the imperialist states put an end to flights over foreign territories of bombers carrying nuclear weapons, that surface ships and submarines with nuclear weapons on board be barred from foreign ports, and demand the renunciation of any forcible actions and of the threat of force.

Attainment of lasting security on this continent is a problem which holds a paramount place in the minds and aspirations of the European peoples. The conferences of the Warsaw Treaty member countries in Bucharest in 1966 and in Budapest in 1969, and also the Karlovy Vary Conference in 1967, charted a concrete programme of action and measures to create a system of European security.

It is imperative to secure the inviolability of the existing frontiers in Europe, in particular the frontiers along the Oder-Neisse and the frontier between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic, and to work for the international legal recognition of the German Democratic Republic, for preventing West Germany from securing atomic weapons in any form, for the renunciation by the Federal Republic of Germany of her claim to represent the whole of Germany, the recognition of West Berlin as a separate political entity, the recognition that the Muncih *diktat* was invalid from the very outset, and the banning of all neo-nazi organisations.

Peace and security in Europe demand the curbing of the revanchist forces in West Germany, guaranteeing the European peoples their sovereign right to be masters of their continent without interference from the USA, mutually beneficial economic, scientific and technological co-operation among the European countries, and the establishment of relations between them founded on a genuine relaxation of tension and mutual trust.

The principle of inviolability of neutral states must be respected unconditionally.

These states can make a major contribution to the policy of peaceful coexistence if they take advantage of every opportunity to act in a spirit of *détente* and peace.

To achieve these aims energetic steps have to be taken in this direction and the problem of European security approached with initiative, with a will to achieve concrete practical measures.

The organisation of a broad congress of European peoples which would prepare for and facilitate the holding of a conference of states, is the most important of these initiatives.

The meeting calls on world public opinion to display unflagging and active solidarity with the peoples and countries which are constant objects of aggressive encroachments by imperialism—the German Democratic Republic, the Korean Democratic People's Republic and the entire Korean people. The meeting calls for the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and the return of Taiwan, at present under United States military occupation. It remains the duty of communists and all other revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces in Latin America and throughout the world to defend the Republic of Cuba.

We communists call for united action against all imperialist acts of aggression, against recourse to local wars and other forms of intervention by imperialism in any area of the world. In face of the aggressive policy pursued by the imperialists and the ruling circles of Israel, we pledge solidarity with the Arab peoples who demand the return of the territories occupied by the Israeli invaders, this being an urgent demand and an indispensable condition for establishing peace and achieving a political settlement in the Middle East on the basis of the complete implementation of the November 1967 resolution of the United Nations Security Council.

Communists reiterate their solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America for independence and national sovereignty, for liberation from every kind of economic and political hegemony of the imperialist circles and monopolies, for withdrawal from the system of military alliances and blocs imposed on them by the imperialist powers and against imperialist tendencies to step up the arms race on these continents and to preserve and create new hotbeds of tension, for dismantling foreign military bases and for establishing relations conducive to the free development of every people.

The demand of our epoch is to rid our planet completely of the curse of colonialism, destroy its last centres and prevent its revival in new, camouflaged forms.

We call on all men of goodwill, on all supporters of democracy, to work together to do away with the vestiges of colonialism and to struggle against neo-colonialism. We urge effective international measures in support of the patriots of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa, in support of all oppressed peoples.

One of the big problems of our time to which the Communist Parties draw public attention and which they are energetically striving to solve, is the elimination of the backwardness of many countries and entire continents engendered by prolonged colonial and imperialist rule. The main task facing these countries today is to promote economic, social and political development, which can be achieved only within the framework of genuine independence from imperialism and

as a result of far reaching democratic and revolutionary changes. To solve this problem it is necessary to mobilise and unite all the progressive forces of each country, and develop mutually advantageous ties between them and with the socialist countries.

Fascist menace

We consider it imperative to step up the fight against the fascist menace and relentlessly to rebuff pro-fascist provocations. Fascism is intensifying its activity at a time when the crisis of imperialism is growing sharper, when reaction is increasingly inclined to use brutal methods to crush the democratic and revolutionary forces. In Greece neo-fascism has seized power. In Spain the ultras are trying to return to fascist methods of repression and are making futile efforts to halt a powerful mass movement. In Portugal fascism, gripped by a crisis under the onslaught of the growing popular movement, is resorting to demagogy about liberalisation in an effort to cover up the actual continuation of its terroristic policy. In West Germany the neo-nazis have laid open claim to power. Neo-fascist activity links up with that of imperialist intelligence agencies, which engineer reactionary coups.

All these manifestations of fascism are coming up against growing resistance from the people, and this demands united action by all the anti-fascist forces, and also greater international support from the Communist and Workers' Parties and from all democratic and progressive movements in every country.

The struggle against the fascist regimes is an essential part of action against imperialism and for democratic freedoms. It is the common task of all democrats, of all champions of freedom, irrespective of their political views, world outlook or religious beliefs, to redouble real support for the national progressive forces fighting centres of reaction and fascism, such as the governments of Spain and Portugal, the reactionary Colonels' Junta in Greece, the oligarchic military cliques in Latin America, and all other tyrannical regimes in the service of US imperialism.

We communists again call on everyone to unite their efforts in the struggle against the **man hating ideology and practices of racialism.** We call for the broadest possible protest movement against the most shameful phenomenon of our time, the barbarous persecution of the 25 million Negroes in the USA, the racialist terror in South Africa and Rhodesia, the persecution of the Arab population in the occupied territory and in Israel against racial and national discrimination and against Zionism and anti-semitism, all of which are fomented by reactionary capitalist forces and which they use to confuse the people politically.

Imperialism makes use of racialism to divide the peoples and maintain its rule. Wide sections of the people reject racialism and can be drawn into active struggle against it. In such action they will come to realise that the eradication of racialism is closely connected with the struggle against imperialism and its ideological foundations.

The interests of the struggle against imperialism, which attempts to stifle the basic human freedoms, demand a tireless fight to defend and

win freedom of speech, the press, assembly, demonstration and association, for the equality of all citizens and **to democratise every aspect of social life.** A firm rebuff must be administered to any attempt and any legislation by reaction designed to nullify the democratic rights and freedoms won in the course of hard class battles. There must be systematic work both within these countries and in the international arena to save the patriots and democrats who face death, to stop arbitrary court rulings against communists and other patriots and to defend the right to political asylum; there must be a fight for the release of the patriots and democrats lying in jail.

We communists oppose all forms of oppression of nations and national minorities. We want to see every nation or national group develop its own culture and language; and we firmly defend the right of all nations to self-determination.

We communists are convinced that it is impossible to put an end to the policy of imperialist aggression, to abolish colonialism and neo-colonialism once and for all and to uproot fascism and racial oppression, without resolute struggle against the power of monopoly capital and for democratic demands which, once won, would weaken the positions of imperialism as a whole and strike at the very foundations of its rule. Such a struggle would create favourable conditions for achieving the ultimate goals of the working class movement.

The present situation demands greater militant solidarity of the peoples of the socialist countries, of all contingents of the international working class movement and national liberation in the struggle against imperialism.

Communists regard it as an urgent task today to expose the criminal policy of imperialism with greater vigour, and to make public opinion more alive to the aggressive intentions and plans of imperialism.

This meeting calls on all organisations representing workers, peasants, office employees, youth, students, intellectuals, women, or various groups and social strata with different political, philosophic and religious convictions and views, on realistically minded political leaders of the capitalist countries and on all democratic parties, national and international progressive public organisations to pool their efforts with those of the Communist and Workers' Parties for concerted action in the anti-imperialist struggle for a relaxation of tensions and in defence of peace. We invite them all to join in a broad and constructive exchange of opinion on the widest possible range of issues bearing on the anti-imperialist struggle.

Communists favour the most democratic methods of preparing for and carrying out united action with all progressive patriotic and peace loving forces on a national, regional and international scale. They will do all they can to bring about greater mutual understanding between the numerous and diverse anti-imperialist trends and movements, taking into consideration their specific features and showing respect for their independence. Forms of co-operation, chosen freely and by common consent, will make it possible to raise the anti-imperialist struggle to a new level to meet the requirements of the present situation.

IV

COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

The meeting considers that the most important prerequisite for increasing the Communist and Workers' Parties' contribution to the solution of the problems facing the peoples is to raise the unity of the communist movement to a higher level in conformity with present day requirements. This demands determined and persistent effort by all the parties. **The cohesion of the Communist and Workers' Parties is the most important factor in rallying together all the anti-imperialist forces.**

The delegates to the meeting reaffirm their common views that relations between the fraternal parties are based on the principles of proletarian internationalism, solidarity, and mutual support, respect for independence and equality, and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. Strict adherence to these principles is an indispensable condition for developing comradely co-operation between the fraternal parties and strengthening the unity of the communist movement. Bilateral consultations, regional meetings and international conferences are natural forms of such co-operation, and are conducted on the basis of the principles accepted in the communist movement. These principles and these forms give the Communist and Workers' Parties every possibility to unite their efforts in the struggle for their common aims, under conditions of the growing diversity of the world revolutionary process. All parties have equal rights. As there is no leading centre of the international communist movement, voluntary co-ordination of the actions of parties in order effectively to carry out the tasks before them acquires increased importance.

United action by Communist and Workers' Parties will promote cohesion of the communist movement on Marxist-Leninist principles. Joint action aimed at solving vital practical problems of the revolutionary and general democratic movements of our time promote a necessary exchange of experience between the various contingents of the communist movement. They help to enrich and creatively develop Marxist-Leninist theory, to strengthen international revolutionary positions on urgent political problems.

The delegates to this meeting proclaim their parties' firm resolve to do their utmost for the working people and for social progress, with a view to advancing towards complete victory over international capital. They regard joint action against imperialism and for general democratic demands as a component part and a stage of the struggle for socialist revolution and the abolition of the system of exploitation of man by man.

They are convinced that the effectiveness of every Communist Party's policy depends on its successes in its own country, on the successes of other fraternal parties and on the extent of their co-operation. Every Communist Party is responsible for its activity to its own working class and people and, at the same time, to the international working class. Every Communist Party's national and inter-

national responsibilities are indivisible. Marxist-Leninists are both patriots and internationalists; they reject both national narrow mindedness and negation or underestimation of national interests and striving for hegemony. At the same time the Communist Parties, the parties of the working class and all working people are the standard bearers of genuine national interests, unlike the reactionary classes, which betray these interests.

The winning of power by the working class and its allies is the greatest contribution which a Communist Party fighting under capitalist conditions can make to the cause of socialism and proletarian internationalism.

The Communist and Workers' Parties are conducting their activity in diverse, specific conditions, requiring an appropriate approach to the solution of concrete problems. Each party, guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and in keeping with concrete national conditions, fully independently works out its own policy, determines the directions, forms and methods of struggle and, depending on the circumstances, chooses the peaceful or non-peaceful way of transition to socialism and also the forms and methods of building socialism in its own country. At the same time the diverse conditions in which the Communist Parties operate, the different approaches to practical tasks and even differences on certain questions must not hinder concerted international action by fraternal parties, particularly on the basic problems of the anti-imperialist struggle.

The greater the strength and the unity of each Communist Party, the better can it fulfil its role both inside the country and in the international communist movement.

Communists are aware that our movement, while scoring great, historic victories in the course of its development, has recently encountered serious difficulties. Communists are convinced, however, that these difficulties will be overcome. This belief is based on the fact that the international working class has common long term objectives and interests, on the desire of every party to find a solution to existing problems which would meet both national and international interests, and the communists' revolutionary mission; it is based on the will of communists for unity on an international scale.

The Communist and Workers' Parties, regardless of some difference of opinion, reaffirm their determination to present a united front in the struggle against imperialism.

Some of the divergences which have arisen are eliminated through an exchange of opinion or disappear as the development of events clarifies the essence of the outstanding issues. Other divergences may last long. The meeting is confident that the outstanding issues can and must be resolved correctly by strengthening all forms of co-operation among the Communist Parties, by extending inter-party ties, mutual exchange of experience, comradely discussion and consultation and unity of action on the international arena. It is the internationalist duty of every party to do everything it can to help to improve relations and to promote trust between all parties, and to undertake further efforts to strengthen the unity of the international communist move-

ment. This unity is strengthened by a collective analysis of concrete reality.

Scientific socialism

The policy of joint anti-imperialist action demands that the ideological and political role of the Marxist-Leninist parties in the world revolutionary process should be enhanced. Marching in the front ranks of the revolutionary, liberation and democratic movements, communists will continue to fight uncompromisingly against bourgeois ideology, and to explain to the working people the real meaning of their struggle and the conditions for victory. To wage a successful struggle against imperialism and to ensure the victory of their cause, communists will propagate the ideas of scientific socialism in the working class movement and among the people, including the youth, they will consistently uphold their principles and work for the triumph of Marxism-Leninism and, in accordance with the concrete situation, fight against right and left opportunist distortions of theory and policy, against revisionism, dogmatism and left sectarian adventurism. These deviations tend generally to underestimate the importance of the real forces which can and must be drawn into the struggle.

Loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and to proletarian internationalism, and dedicated and devoted service in the interests of their peoples and the common cause of socialism are essential for the efficacy and correct orientation of united action by the Communist and Workers' Parties and are a guarantee that they will achieve their historic goals.

The communist movement is an integral part of modern society and is its most active force. Hence the banning of Communist Parties is an attack on the democratic rights and vital interests of the peoples. The delegates support all the Communist and Workers' Parties of the world, without exception, which fight for their right of legal participation in the political life of their countries. We emphatically condemn the brutal repressions and terror which have claimed the lives of thousands upon thousands of communists and other democrats and revolutionaries in Indonesia, Spain, Portugal, Greece, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, Venezuela, Panama, Paraguay, Guatemala, South Africa, Thailand, Haiti, Malaysia, Iran, the Philippines and other countries. We proclaim our solidarity with our fellow fighters in the common struggle who are lying in the jails of fascist and dictatorial regimes, in prisons in the capitalist countries, and we work for their release.

The delegates regard this meeting as an important stage in the cohesion of the world communist movement. They consider that the absence of certain Communist and Workers' Parties should not hinder fraternal ties and co-operation between all Communist and Workers' Parties without exception. They declare their resolve to achieve joint action in the struggle against imperialism, for the common objectives of the international working class movement, as well as with the Communist and Workers' Parties not represented at the present meeting.

The struggle against imperialism is a long, hard and strenuous fight.

Tense class battles lie ahead and they cannot be avoided. Let us step up the offensive against imperialism and internal reaction. The revolutionary and progressive forces are certain to triumph.

Peoples of the socialist countries, workers, democratic forces in the capitalist countries, newly liberated peoples and those who are oppressed, unite in a common struggle against imperialism, for peace, national liberation, social progress, democracy and socialism!

Independence, Freedom and Peace for VIETNAM

The International Conference of representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties sends the fraternal Vietnamese people its warm militant greetings, and wholeheartedly congratulates them on the historic successes achieved in the struggle against United States aggression.

We send good wishes in particular to the vanguard of the Vietnamese people, the Workers' Party of Vietnam and its central committee, and to the great patriot and internationalist Comrade Ho Chi Minh, who is an outstanding member of the international communist movement. The Workers' Party of Vietnam is the inspiring and guiding force in the struggle against the aggression of United States imperialism. That party consistently defends the national interests and the outpost of socialism in South East Asia.

We send warm greetings to the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, the legitimate representative of the population of South Vietnam and the tried and tested organiser and leader in the heroic resistance struggle against United States aggression. The political programme of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam is the basis for unifying the entire population of South Vietnam in their just struggle for liberation.

The International Conference unconditionally supports the ten point programme, "The Principles and the Main Content of a Total Solution of the South Vietnamese Problem as a Contribution to Restoring Peace in Vietnam," which was put forward on May 8, 1969, by the central committee of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

This programme proceeds on the basis of the main principles of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam and on the basis of the present situation in Vietnam. It is based on the political programme and the positions of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam consisting of five points, and corresponds to the fourpoint position of the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The proposed solution of the South Vietnamese problem fully accords with the national rights of the Vietnamese people and with the interests of peace throughout the world. It guarantees the population of South Vietnam the right to self-determination and a lasting peace in Vietnam, and it also corresponds to the interests of other peoples in Indo-China.

The right of the Vietnamese people to wage a struggle in defence of

their motherland is the sacred and inalienable right of all peoples to self-defence.

The struggle of the Vietnamese people for freedom and independence arouses in the peoples feelings of deep respect and admiration. The staunchness and heroism of the Vietnamese people and their confidence in their victory are an example and inspiration in the struggle against imperialism, for the preservation of peace, for the liberation of the peoples from exploitation and oppression. While defending their homeland, the Vietnamese people are at the same time doing their international duty and rendering a service to the noble cause of safeguarding peace throughout the world. In this profoundly just struggle of the Vietnamese people we have been and shall be firmly linked in solidarity with them.

The heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people against the United States' aggression is a key component of the worldwide struggle between socialism and imperialism, between the forces of progress and the forces of reaction.

In carrying out their armed intervention in Vietnam, the US imperialist forces set out to smash one of the socialist outposts in Asia, to bar the peoples of Indo China from the road towards peace, freedom and progress, to strike a blow against the revolutionary national liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and to put to the test the strength of the solidarity of socialist countries and all the anti-imperialist forces.

These plans of United States imperialism are doomed to failure.

With tremendous support from the socialist countries, and in the first place from the Soviet Union, as well as from all the peace loving peoples of the world, the Vietnamese people have shown the United States, the most powerful force of imperialism, that its strength is not unlimited.

The barbarous crimes committed by the American interventionists against the Vietnamese people, the use of biological, chemical and other means of mass annihilation—this genoside in the true sense of the word—outrage the conscience of mankind. They reveal for all the peoples to see, the actual inhuman essence of imperialism.

Epic struggle

All this has led to the aggressor becoming increasingly isolated, politically and morally, from the broadest strata, including the ruling circles of some capitalist countries. In the United States itself, ever wider circles of the population are coming out against the dirty war in Vietnam, the consequences of which are shaking American society.

The heroic, epic struggle of the Vietnamese people is one of the determining factors in the movement of the peoples against imperialism, a factor which finds expression in militant actions by the youth and students.

In spite of the use he has been making of his gigantic military machine, the aggressor was compelled to end unconditionally the bombing of the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and agree to quadripartite talks, with the South Vietnam National

Liberation Front participating on an equal footing. In South Vietnam, the People's Liberation Armed Forces are unceasingly striking heavy blows against the United States interventionists and their puppets. People's power has been established over an overwhelming part of the territory. The bankrupt puppet regime remains in power thanks only to the bayonets of United States imperialism.

All these are important successes of the heroic Vietnamese people, of the world socialist system, of the international communist and working class movement and of all the forces of peace and progress.

The successful struggle of Vietnam reflects the changes in the balance of forces in the world and the growing might of the forces of socialism, democracy and national liberation on a world scale.

The determination of the international communist movement and also of all the anti-imperialist forces to achieve consolidation and unity of action in the struggle against the common enemy of mankind—imperialism, has been vividly and concretely expressed in the broad movement in support of Vietnam and against United States aggression.

The struggle of the Vietnamese patriots shows that a people which consistently fights against imperialism for freedom and independence, and which has on its side the Soviet Union, all the socialist countries and the peaceloving forces of the whole world, is invincible.

The stronger the unity and cohesion of the international communist movement and all the anti-imperialist forces in the struggle against the common enemy—imperialism, the greater are their successes.

The more vigorously the Communist and Workers' Parties raise the banner of freedom of the peoples and step out in the forefront of the struggle against the imperialist policy of aggression, the broader and the more effective is the development of the anti-imperialist movement of the people.

In spite of the heavy defeats they have suffered, the militarist circles of the United States have not yet given up their aggressive neo-colonialist plans with regard to Vietnam, and they are continuing their attempts to achieve a military solution of the Vietnamese problem. They are persisting in their dangerous path of expanding the military conflict, as is proved by the intensified bombing of the territory of Laos and the continued provocations against neutral Cambodia.

The United States government and its representatives in Paris are stubbornly refusing to discuss, in a businesslike and realistic way, the just demands of the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, and in the first place the complete and unconditional withdrawal from South Vietnam of the troops of the United States and other parties to the aggression. Instead, they are trying to mislead the public throughout the world by means of demagogic trickery, and to achieve, through pressure at the negotiating table, the successes which they have failed to obtain on the battlefield.

They are evading a solution to the main question of the complete and unconditional withdrawal of the armed forces of the United States and its satellites from South Vietnam, and are insisting on a so-called reciprocal withdrawal of troops.

This means putting the aggressor on the same footing as his victim.

United States imperialism, however, will never succeed in hiding the fact that it unleashed, and is stubbornly continuing, the aggression in Vietnam. American intervention in Vietnam is a constant threat to peace throughout the world, an outright challenge to all the peoples who are fighting for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress. The international communist and working-class movement, loyal to the principles of proletarian internationalism, will in the future, too, in the spirit of fraternal solidarity, continue to give the Vietnamese people all the necessary help until the final triumph of their just cause. The Communist and Workers' Parties are thereby making a big contribution in the cause of peace throughout the world, to the cause of freedom and socialism.

A just solution

The International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties earnestly declares that a just solution to the Vietnamese problem is possible only on the basis of guaranteeing the fundamental national rights of the Vietnamese people.

At the present time, when the struggle of the Vietnamese people has entered an important stage and when, thanks to the initiative of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, all the necessary conditions have been created for a just political settlement, we demand:

The United States must give up its obstructive attitude at the quadripartite conference in Paris;

The United States must immediately stop its aggressive actions in Vietnam and completely and unconditionally withdraw from South Vietnam its armed forces and the armed forces of its satellites;

The United States must recognise the right of the population of South Vietnam to decide their internal affairs themselves, without foreign interference;

The United States must put an end to all actions directed against the sovereignty and security of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam;

The United States must put an end to its interference and aggression in Laos and stop the violation of the territorial integrity of Cambodia and recognise her borders, and it must renounce its aggressive aims with regard to the states of South East and East Asia and strictly observe the Geneva Agreements of 1954 and 1962.

We demand that Thailand, New Zealand, Australia and the South Korean puppet regime, and also the Federal Republic of Germany and Japan, put an end to their open or disguised involvement in the United States' aggression in Vietnam!

On behalf of the army of communists, many millions strong, we call upon honest people, upon all who cherish peace, justice, freedom and the independence of the peoples:

Voice more resolutely throughout the world your protest against the criminal war of American imperialism in Vietnam!

Take a more active part in the international movement of solidarity with the heroic Vietnamese people!

Demand the withdrawal of the US armed forces and the armed forces of their satellites from Vietnam!

Demand an immediate peaceful settlement of the Vietnamese question on the basis of ensuring the inalienable rights of the Vietnamese people!

Give your support to the Ten Points proposed by the South Vietnam National Liberation Front!

We call for new, diversified and ever more powerful and concerted actions by the anti-imperialist and peace loving forces in support of the Vietnamese people, who are fighting against US aggression!

Boycott the transportation of soldiers, weapons and materials for the interventionists and their satellites!

Let us turn July 20, the anniversary of the signing of the Geneva Agreements, into an international day of solidarity with Vietnam, a day of struggle for an end to United States aggression!

Glory to the heroic Vietnamese people, who are courageously fighting for independence and freedom!

Hold high the banner of international solidarity!

Independence, freedom and peace for Vietnam!

The just cause of the Vietnamese people will triumph!

APPEAL
IN
DEFENCE of PEACE

We, representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties attending the International Conference in Moscow, call on the nations of the world and on all people, irrespective of their convictions and political views, to take joint actions in the interests of safeguarding and strengthening peace.

The struggle going on is about the most important thing of all—the future of the human race. During the first half of our century world wars took a toll of over seventy million human lives, and razed thousands of flourishing towns and villages to the ground.

The sinister atomic mushroom over Hiroshima is a tragic warning against the consequences which may be brought about by a third world war, if imperialism succeeds in unleashing it.

A world conflict in present day conditions, when nuclear bombs can reach any continent in a matter of a few minutes and can devastate huge territories, would mean the death of hundreds of millions of people and the turning of the treasures of world civilisation and culture to rubble and ashes.

Wars, acts of aggression and violence, encroachments upon the freedom of the peoples—all this has its sources in the policy of imperialism.

It is imperialism, and above all American imperialism, that steps up the arms race, sharpens international tension and foments conflicts and local wars in different areas of the world.

American imperialism, that sworn enemy of the freedom of the peoples, is striving by every means to suppress the national liberation movement, is hatching reactionary coups and is foisting anti-popular regimes upon the peoples and is propping them up.

For many years now, the American imperialists have been waging a war of aggression in Vietnam, making use of the most brutal means.

As a result of the Israeli aggression against the Arab peoples, a dangerous centre of tension is being maintained in the Middle East which might start a conflagration of war at any moment.

The provocative intrigues of imperialism against Cuba, off the shores of Korea and against many states in Asia, Africa and Latin America create a constant threat to peace.

Warlike West German imperialism is gaining strength in Central Europe and neo-nazism is rearing its head there. Relying on the aggressive NATO bloc and acting in close alliance with American imperialism, the ruling circles of Bonn, which have not learnt the necessary lessons from the defeat of Hitlerite Germany, are pursuing a policy of revenge, are striving to secure nuclear weapons and are threatening the security of all the peoples of Europe.

A threat to peace in Europe is created by the military bases granted to the American imperialists in different NATO countries and in Spain.

The policy of aggression and wars, pursued in the interests of the profits of monopoly capital, increases the exploitation of wide sections of people in the capitalist states themselves, foments racial discrimination, encourages gross violence, leads to the restriction of democratic liberties and threatens the vital interests of the people.

The militarisation of the economy consumes huge material resources, lowers living standards and weighs heavily on the working people.

Imperialism is responsible for the fact that the greatest achievements of science and technology, which open up new horizons before mankind, are directed towards destruction at a time when hundreds of millions of people are suffering from hunger and poverty.

That is why the struggle for peace merges with the struggle for the freedom of the peoples, for progress and democracy and for getting rid of foreign oppression, colonialism and neo-colonialism, reaction and fascist dictatorship.

An attainable goal

A lasting peace is today not a utopia; it is a perfectly attainable goal. Powerful social and political forces now exist in the world which come out against war, for a *détente* and for broad international co-operation.

The consistent peace loving policy of the first country of socialism—the Soviet Union—and of other socialist states, the mounting struggle of the working people in the capitalist countries, the growth of the national liberation movement and the actions of broad sections of the world democratic public and of fighters for peace do away with the fatal inevitability of a new world war, and create a concrete opportunity for implementing the people's aspirations for peace.

Imperialism can no longer decide the destinies of the world at its own discretion. The American aggressors have been compelled to stop their bombing raids on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and to start talks.

A treaty has been signed on the banning of nuclear tests on the ground, underwater, and in outer space, and a non-proliferation treaty has been concluded. This means that it is possible to achieve concrete results when the peoples act vigorously and concertedly.

Although the danger of military conflicts will exist as long as imperialism exists, peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems is realistic in our time; but peaceful coexistence requires the constant and stubborn struggle of the people against imperialism and against its positions of strength policy.

The struggle for peace includes the peaceful initiative of the socialist states, the victorious battles fought by the Vietnamese patriots in the jungles of South Vietnam, the anti-war demonstrations in the cities of Europe and America and the struggle of the Japanese people against American military bases.

The cause of peace is also served by the actions of the working class

against the omnipotence of monopolies, by the resistance of the Latin American peoples against the dictatorships of the military cliques, by anti-colonial movements in the countries of Asia and Africa and by the struggle of the Negro population of the United States for their rights.

Everybody who takes part in this struggle, irrespective of whether he wears workman's overalls, tills the soil or works in a laboratory, contributes to the common cause of safeguarding peace.

We call on all working people—workers, peasants, intellectuals, scientists and men of culture and on all those who want to save and multiply the fruits of mankind's labour and creative efforts;

On mothers and fathers, who are concerned for the future of their children;

On young people and students who are striving to implement noble plans and dreams, and to devote their strength and energies to the flourishing of their countries;

On members of parliament, statesmen and political leaders, who are alarmed for the fate of their peoples;

On political parties, trade unions, public organisations and movements;

On religious communities and associations, on people of different religious faiths;

On participants in peace movements and anti-war campaigns;

On all men and women:

To demand an end to the United States aggression in Vietnam, the withdrawal of American troops and respect for the sovereign rights of the Vietnamese people—independence, freedom and peace for Vietnam;

To strive for the elimination of the consequences of the Israeli aggression in the Middle East on the basis of the resolution of the United Nations Security Council;

To fight for the complete abolition of colonialism and neo-colonialism, for the achievement of independence by all the oppressed peoples, for the ending of the war waged by the Portuguese colonialists, for the extirpation of shameful racialism in South Africa and wherever it manifests itself, and for the abolition of corrupt regimes, henchmen of foreign monopolies;

To step up their efforts in the struggle for the complete implementation of the principles of peaceful coexistence of states irrespective of their social systems, for the easing of international issues through talks, against the encroachment of imperialists upon the independence and sovereignty of the peoples, for their right to determine their future themselves and for the development of broad equitable co-operation between states.

We call on all those who have lived through and remember the horrors of the last world war, on all the champions of peace in Europe, including the peace loving public forces of West Germany.

Let us bar the road to the policy of territorial claims pursued in the Federal Republic of Germany and to its desire to possess nuclear weapons; let us turn back the forces of neo-nazism!

Recognition of the actual situation which has developed in Europe as the result of the Second World War, the inviolability of the existing

borders and recognition of the German Democratic Republic—these are the indispensable conditions for a lasting peace on the continent of Europe.

Let us launch a struggle for the creation of an effective system of collective security in Europe, and for an end to the division of the world into military groups, and for the establishment of an atmosphere of co-operation and mutual understanding among the peoples.

The way to this would be paved by a general European conference of states, as was proposed by the Budapest meeting of the Warsaw Treaty countries.

World peace cannot rely on the "equilibrium of fear." A lasting peace is unthinkable without an end to the arms race.

It is necessary to secure the establishment of nuclear free zones in different regions of the globe, the banning of all tests of nuclear weapons, the earliest possible entry into force of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and the participation of all states in that treaty, and the banning of nuclear weapons and the destruction of stockpiles of those weapons.

It is necessary to demand the removal of military bases in foreign territories, the annulment of aggressive military pacts imposed upon countries and effective international prohibition of all types of chemical and bacteriological weapons.

It is necessary to strive consistently and stubbornly for general and complete disarmament.

We communists, despite the difficulties of the past, have preserved boundless loyalty to Lenin's ideas of international peace and friendship.

Today, as in the past, we shall fight for these noble goals of the human race, along with all those who come out against the policy of militarism, aggression and war.

For this purpose we are prepared to develop contacts and to co-operate with the most varied public and political forces.

Unity of all the progressive peace loving forces is the call of our times. Firmly united, we shall ensure the victory of the sacred cause of world peace!

ADDRESS

on the centenary of the birth of

VLADIMIR LENIN

As we approach the centenary of the birth of Vladimir Lenin, the Communist and Workers' Parties address their thoughts to the immortal genius of our revolutionary age.

Lenin's name has come to symbolise the triumph of the Great October Revolution and the major revolutionary achievements which have made basic changes in the social image of the world, and have marked mankind's turn towards socialism and communism.

Lenin was a profound thinker. He developed the science founded by Marx and Engels: dialectical materialism, political economy, the theory of socialist revolution and the building of communist society.

Lenin was the founder of the Bolshevik Party, the first proletarian party of a new type. He was the leader of the world's first triumphant socialist revolution. He was the founder of the world's first proletarian state and of Soviet socialist democracy.

Lenin was an implacable fighter against imperialism and reaction. He stood for the concerted action of all sections of the working people in battles against the common class enemy. He was a consistent internationalist, a champion of equality, peace, and friendship among peoples.

He condemned with anger all forms of racialism and chauvinism.

Lenin was the friend of the oppressed nations, the man who pointed out the successful road in the struggle against colonialism, for the independence and freedom of the peoples and for their right to determine their own destiny.

The recognised leader of the international working class, Lenin saw the proletariat as the leading force capable of carrying out the world historic mission of overthrowing capitalism and of effecting socialist changes in society.

The concept of an alliance between the working class and the peasants was Lenin's. He called for unity in the working class movement and was implacable towards opportunism in all its forms.

Under the influence of Leninism, a generation of communists grew up who were completely dedicated to the working class, the people and the cause of socialism.

Lenin's life and work, his noble qualities as a revolutionary, as a comrade and as a man, will always serve as an inspiring example for millions of revolutionary fighters the world over.

Guided by Leninism, the revolutionary movement in most countries rose to a new level. New Communist Parties were founded and grew strong. The international communist movement became a world force, the most influential political force of our time.

The experience of the international socialist movement and the working class and national liberation movements have confirmed the international significance of Marxism-Leninism.

The triumph of the socialist revolution in a number of countries, the emergence of the world system of socialism, the gains of the working class movement in the capitalist countries, the beginning of independent social and political activity by the peoples of the former colonies and semi-colonies and the unparalleled advances of the anti-imperialist struggle are all proof of the historical truth of Leninism, a teaching that expresses the basic needs of our time.

We have every right today to use the same words in speaking of Lenin's teachings as he himself used in describing Marxism: the teaching is all-powerful and for that reason true.

Source of inspiration

Marxist-Leninist theory and its creative use in concrete conditions helps us to find scientific answers to the questions which arise before all sections of the world revolutionary movement wherever they operate.

Loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, the great international teaching, is the guarantee of future success in the communist movement.

Communists see defence of the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism and of working class internationalism as their task in the struggle against all opponents. They see their task as consisting of the undeviating translation of these principles into life, and the constant development of Marxist-Leninist theory and its enrichment on the basis of modern experience in class struggle and the building of socialist society.

Communists will always be loyal to the creative spirit of Leninism.

The approaching Lenin anniversary is a historic date of world importance. Communist and Workers' Parties are approaching this anniversary in conditions when an intensification of revolutionary activity is taking place, and are marking it by stepping up political and ideological work among the people and by expanding and strengthening their ranks.

They are sparing no effort to mobilise the revolutionary energy of working people in the struggle against imperialism and for the radiant ideals of socialism.

The delegates to the International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties call on all communists, all fighters for the socialist transformation of society and all supporters of progress and peace to mark the centenary of the great Lenin's birth in a worthy manner.

Study the works of Lenin! In them you will find an inexhaustible source of inspiration for the struggle against reaction and oppression, for socialism and peace. Acquaintance with them will help the young generation to see with greater clarity the revolutionary prospects of our epoch. Publicise on a greater scale the achievements of Leninism, the successes of the socialist countries, the Communist Parties and all the revolutionary forces.!

Workers of all countries, peoples of the whole world, in the cause of the triumph of Lenin's ideals we call on you to join actively the great and noble battle of the working class for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.

Let us raise higher the banner of Leninism in the struggle for the revolutionary renovation of the world!

Long live Leninism!

FINAL COMMUNIQUÉ

The International Conference of 75 Communist and Workers' Parties was held in Moscow from June 5 to 17. The delegates to the conference assessed it as a major event in the development of the struggle against imperialism, in the cause of achieving anti-imperialist unity of action by the widest sections of the people throughout the world, and as an important stage on the road of strengthening the unity of the communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Delegations from 75 Communist and Workers' Parties took part in the meeting:

Communist Party of Australia, Communist Party of Austria, Socialist Vanguard Party of Algeria, Communist Party of Argentina, Communist Party of Belgium, Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin, Bulgarian Communist Party, Communist Party of Bolivia, Brazilian Communist Party, Communist Party of Great Britain, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Communist Party of Venezuela, United Party of Haitian Communists, People's Progressive Party of Guyana, Guadeloupe Communist Party, Guatemala Party of Labour, Communist Party of Germany, Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Communist Party of Honduras, Communist Party of Greece, Danish Communist Party, Dominican Communist Party, Communist Party of Israel, Indian Communist Party, Communist Party of Jordan, Communist Party of Iraq, People's Party of Iran, Communist Party of Northern Ireland, Irish Workers' Party, Communist Party of Spain, Italian Communist Party, Canadian Communist Party, Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus, Communist Party of Colombia.

People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica, Communist Party of Cuba (as an observer), Communist Party of Lethoto, Lebanese Communist Party, Communist Party of Luxembourg, Party of Liberation and Socialism (Morocco), Martinique Communist Party, Mexican Communist Party, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, Party of Nigerian Marxist-Leninists, Nicaraguan Socialist Party, Communist Party of Norway, Communist Party of East Pakistan, People's Party of Panama, Paraguayan Communist Party, Peruvian Communist Party, Polish United Workers' Party, Portuguese Communist Party, Puerto Rican Communist Party, Réunion Communist Party, Rumanian Communist Party, Communist Party of Salvador.

San Marino Communist Party, Syrian Communist Party, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Communist Party of the United States, Communist Party of the Sudan, Tunisian Communist Party, Communist Party of Turkey, Communist Party of Uruguay, Communist Party of Finland, French Communist Party, Communist Party of Ceylon, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Communist Party of Chile, Swiss Party of Labour, Left Party—Communists of Sweden (as observers), Communist Party of Ecuador, South African Communist Party, and two parties working underground whose names were not made public for security reasons.

The conference adopted the main document: "The Tasks at the Present Stage of the Struggle against Imperialism and United Action of Communist and Workers' Parties and all anti-imperialist forces."

While also supporting the strengthening of the unity of Communist and Workers' Parties and all anti-imperialist forces, the delegations of the Communist Parties of Australia, Italy, San Marino and Réunion expressed complete agreement only with that section of the document which outlines the joint programme of struggle against imperialism, while the delegate of the Dominican Communist Party did not support the main document.

The delegates to the conference also discussed the question of celebrating the centenary of the birth of V. I. Lenin and warmly and with enthusiasm approved the address on "The Centenary of the Birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin."

The conference addressed to the peoples of the world the appeal "Independence, Freedom and Peace for Vietnam." It warmly greeted the setting up of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam.

The conference adopted an appeal "In Defence of Peace."

It adopted a statement in support of the just struggle of the Arab peoples against Israeli aggression, and a statement of solidarity with communists and democrats who are being subjected to most savage repressions, and are conducting a selfless struggle in difficult conditions against reactionary dictatorial regimes which are supported by international imperialism.

The conference took place in an atmosphere of frankness and fraternal solidarity and was widely reported.

The principles of the equality of all parties and of collective methods of work were strictly observed both in the preparatory period and in the course of the conference itself.

The delegates to the conference expressed their desire for the further development of ties between Communist and Workers' Parties. They reaffirmed the usefulness of bilateral and regional meetings and of holding, as the need arises, international conferences of Communist and Workers' Parties to exchange views and experience, for collective discussion and to work out current political and theoretical questions and problems of the struggle against imperialism, for the triumph of the cause of peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

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It has been decided to send the materials of the conference also to the Communist and Workers' Parties that did not participate in its work.

The delegates to the conference are firmly convinced that its results accord with the interests of every Communist Party and the entire international communist movement.

Comrade J. B. Marks
Chairman of the South African
Communist Party

SPEECH BY J. B. MARKS

Chairman of the South African Communist Party Head of the S.A.C.P. Delegation

Dear Comrades,

To this great and historic Conference we bring greetings to our brother Parties from the Communists of South Africa, from all revolutionaries of our country—in the gruesome jails of the fascist Vorster regime; working in perilous underground conditions; or participating in the armed struggle which is now raging in Southern Africa.

As the main draft document before this meeting points out the struggle for the liberation of our region is one

'of great importance for the future of Africa and world peace'

The world is well aware that the racist leaders of the so-called white minority in South Africa have turned our beautiful and wealthy country into a hell for the great majority of our people, especially for the indigenous Africans who comprise most of the population. Our land has been forcibly usurped; our people turned into a landless, rightless proletariat, the object of fierce and unrestrained exploitation and oppression.

What is perhaps not so fully realised is that the present day Republic of South Africa is an imperialist state itself. It has seized the former mandate of Namibia (South West Africa) and exploits it as its colony. It is the main partner in the Unholy Alliance with Rhodesia and Portugal, who, together, retain a vast area of our continent as one of the last refuges of open and unashamed colonialism. It openly threatens the sovereignty and independence of Zambia and Tanzania—and, ultimately, of every African state.

Against these terrorist, racist regimes the masses of people of our countries have learnt, through many years of bitter experience, there is no way to emancipation except that of revolutionary armed struggle. We did not reach this conclusion as a result of any preconceived notions regarding methods of struggle, any so-called universally-valid dogma. Indeed we fully agree that it is for the revolutionaries of every country to evolve their own methods, according to their own circumstances, of attaining our common goal: the conquest of power for the masses of working people. But in our conditions of total suppression of the people's rights, of constant, daily terror and force exercised against the masses, with tens of thousands of patriots in detention and massacres a commonplace, with the great majority of the people in a state of seething revolt against enslavement and intolerable affronts to their human dignity, there could be no other way forward.

Indeed, comrades, a war has already begun and is in progress for the liberation of Southern Africa. In Mozambique, in Angola, in Guinea-Bissau, in Namibia and even in the Republic of South Africa itself, fighting has broken out. Brave African guerillas are dealing heavy blows at the fascist and racist regimes. Behind the lines the workers of town and countryside are increasingly defying the fascist terror and raising the banner of resistance. Inevitably the struggle will spread and merge into a single people's war which can only end in the destruction of white minority rule and the establishment of people's power. We shall win!

In Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) since August 1967, numerous armed clashes have taken place between the 'security forces' of the notorious Smith regime and guerilla units made up of joint forces of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) and the African National Congress (ANC)—the mass liberation movement of our country, the Republic of South Africa. These two organisations have concluded a military alliance which is an outstanding and inspiring example of true fraternal unity in action.

It is no secret that the Smith regime relies heavily on massive military and economic aid from the fascist Republic in the South. In fact with the complicity of Britain and its Labour government the Republic of South Africa has sent troops into Rhodesia on a large scale since the outbreak of guerilla activities. Recently the South African Minister of Police, Muller, admitted in the all-white Parliament that the Republic had sent further reinforcements of armed and specially-trained police to fight in Zimbabwe, on the border of free Zambia. It cannot be doubted that, but for this aid, the Smith regime would by now have been overthrown, and that it now stands in the same relation to the fascist Republic as does the puppet regime in South Vietnam to the United States.

This armed struggle enjoys the fullest support of our Party. I should like here at this great meeting to inform you that members of your South African brother Party are fighting in the front lines, side by side with our non-Communist comrades. Their courage and devotion have proved worthy of the highest traditions of our movement; many have laid down their lives in the struggle to liberate our country.

Comrades,

We South African revolutionaries are deeply conscious of the international significance of our struggle.

Behind the vicious and disgraceful regimes of Vorster, Smith and Caetano stand the sinister powers of NATO and Japan, of world imperialism. It is no exaggeration to say that, but for this backing—financial, military, political—our people would long ago have won their freedom.

To the imperialists, South Africa is a treasure-chest for the accumulation of super-profits from the fruits of our rich mineral and other natural resources and from the merciless exploitation of African labour power.

It is also a stronghold of reaction and colonialism in Africa and a strategic key-point in the global strategy of the imperialists. It is a hotbed for the breeding of the disgusting theories of racism and neo-nazism.

Under the successive Premierships of Verwoerd and Vorster, men who openly espoused the cause and ideas of Hitler during the war, the Republic of South Africa became the refuge of nazi war-criminals and a haven for their capital which was endangered after the collapse of the 'Third Reich'. Ever closer relationships, economic and political, are being forged with the neo-nazis of Bonn. West German imperialism is establishing a firm foothold in our country, challenging the well-entrenched interests of British, U.S. and other well-established investors in the race to extract maximum profits, and concluding secret and sinster agreements regarding the production of fissionable uranium, poison gases and other weapons.

Everywhere the South African racists are seen as among the outstanding supporters of international reaction and imperialism. The Israeli aggression of June 1967 helped the Republic of South Africa by forcing the closure of the Suez Canal, to the great profit of Cape Town and other South African ports. The Republic has reciprocated the favour by rendering important practical support to the zionist aggressors.

At the same time we are deeply conscious and appreciative of the powerful support for our people's struggles from innumerable friends of freedom throughout the world. In one sphere after another of international relations, ranging from trade and diplomacy to culture and sport, the door is correctly being slammed in the face of the ignominious racists of South Africa.

The independent states of Africa, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the labour and democratic movements in the capitalist countries, have repeatedly denounced apartheid. They have demanded that South Africa implement human rights and dignity. They have demanded the release of Mandela, Sisulu, Kathrada, Mbeki, Fischer and innumerable other heroes of our people now serving life imprisonment and other heavy sentences under atrocious conditions in the fascist jails.

Above all they have rendered and are rendering valuable practical support to our freedom-fighters: money, food, clothing, medicines, assistance in military training and—most precious—arms. We take this opportunity, comrades, in the presence of the leaders of the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic, Bulgaria, Poland, Hungary, Mongolia, Cuba and other socialist countries, to say that our people will never forget the warm comradely solidarity they have shown in providing us with the means for our emancipation.

Many of our brother Parties here represented have carried out many solidarity actions with our people, or taken part in broad anti-apartheid movements in their countries. To all those Parties—those of Britain and other West European and Scandinavian countries, of India and other Asian countries, of North and South America—may we express our deep gratitude; our confidence that they will redouble their efforts in the stormy period now facing our struggle; our hope that all here will follow their example.

The very nature of our struggle has taught our revolutionaries, Communists and non-Communists alike, the fundamental lessons of *internationalism*. We know full well from practical experience that our

struggle against imperialism is one with that of our brothers fighting the same enemy in every country of the world.

We are at one with the fighting people of Vietnam. Their implacable and victorious fight against the biggest imperialist power is a shining example, a glorious inspiration, to all the oppressed and exploited of the earth.

We are at one with the brother Arab peoples to our North, in their determined resistance to imperialist-backed zionist aggression, for the recovery of their lands and the assertion of their rights to self-determination.

We rejoice at every advance of our comrades everywhere, We hail the important step towards people's power in which a big part has been played by the Marxist-Leninist vanguard: the Sudanese Communist Party. We hail every step in the social, economic and ideological progress and cohesion of our class brothers, our close and trusted allies, the leaders and the people of the socialist community.

Our struggle also is not only for our own liberation. It is at the same time our contribution to the common fight, a fulfilment of our internationalist duty.

* * *

That is exactly why for a number of years we of the South African Communist Party have been consistently and vigorously appealing for unity within the ranks of the international communist movement, vanguard detachment of the world anti-imperialist forces. Unity of our movement is the key to the rallying of all who fight imperialism, war, colonialism and exploitation. Our Party enthusiastically welcomed the convocation of this conference; we have to the best of our ability contributed to its preparation.

Rarely, if ever, has an international gathering been prepared with such thoroughness, such patience, as this great and historic conference. We should like at this stage to express our very sincere appreciation of the tireless efforts of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party—indeed of all whose labours over the past fifteen months have cleared the way to the achievement of this wonderful reunion of nearly all the main contingents of our great movement.

We must recognise, comrades, that this has been no easy task. We are all well aware that a number of differences of perspective and interpretation have developed between various parties. We hope very much that in the course of time, of comradely discussion, and above all, the test of practice, these differences will be resolved. That is a task which still confronts us.

But, during the arduous preparations for this conference, most of us have come to realise that this long-term process could not and must not impede us in the most urgent and imperative duty which history has placed before us. That task is to concentrate at this stage not upon our temporary differences, but upon the immeasurably greater and more

important area of our agreement; upon our pressing need to present a common front to the common enemy.

We are faced with a ruthless, vicious and dangerous enemy: imperialism. The enemy, as well defined and described in the main document placed before us by the Preparatory Committee, is ceaselessly plotting acts of intervention and subversion against socialist and other non-imperialist countries, acts of provocation and outright lawless aggression. Against patriots, revolutionaries, working class militants everywhere it wreaks savage reprisals and murder. It constantly menaces the world with the horrors of atomic, chemical and bacterial war which only our combined actions and vigilance holds at bay.

This enemy will not pause in its onslaught on our forces and allies while we engage our energies in protracted debates.

Therefore it became imperatively incumbent upon us to unite our ranks, and to agree on how to rally all anti-imperialist forces. We had to leave aside for the time being those issues where we differ. History demanded of us that we concentrate on the wide area of common agreement; that we restate our common tasks in contemporary terms in a manner capable of mobilising our whole movement and its allies.

That task has been brilliantly accomplished by our Preparatory Committee and the documents it has placed before this conference.

Comrades, our Central Committee fully supports these documents. Our delegation has been entrusted and empowered, on behalf of our Party, to sign these documents and to pledge our Party's strength and resources to mobilise the working people of South Africa for their translation into reality.

We warmly express our agreement with those constructive speeches which have elaborated and elucidated these documents—speeches such as those of Comrades Brezhnev, Gomulka and Hall—and we feel that to explain exactly why we concur with the contents of the main document, the peace appeal, the documents on the preparation of the Lenin centenary and the demand for the ending of imperialist aggression in Vietnam—would merely be to repeat what others have said most ably.

We have listened carefully also to the addresses of those comrades who expressed differences with the documents, particularly the main document.

Frankly, comrades, we find some of their arguments rather difficult to understand. For example, some comrades have gone into lengthy criticisms of the document, not because of what it says but because of what it does not say. One would logically, perhaps, then expect them to propose some additional material. But surprisingly enough they are recommending that we delete whole sections amounting in some cases to three-quarters of the whole.

We are also surprised at the type of subject-matter which some of these comrades are saying the document lacks. More than one delegation here has drawn attention to the events in Czechoslovakia, despite the well-grounded appeal of our Czechoslovakian comrades not to make their country's problems, at this complex stage, the subject of international debate.

These comrades must be well aware that their special and rather strange

point of view on this question is far from receiving general support in our Communist movement. And this is true of nearly all the other questions which a few parties insist are so essential to the documents that their omission makes it unacceptable; even though there is nothing actually in the document which we cannot all subscribe to. But these comrades know that their special view on these questions is one which this conference cannot and will not accept; they have repeatedly enjoyed and they have made full use of the opportunity to advance these views throughout the preparatory stages of this conference. The amendments they proposed which found general support were accepted and are included in the draft. The others were omitted, and properly so.

Surely, comrades, that was precisely what we set out to do in preparing this conference and its documents. It was clear to all of us that there were some matters on which we could not all reach agreement now. Therefore we decided to devote ourselves to the priority question of formulating our agreement on the urgent tasks of the present stage of the anti-imperialist fight. This is precisely the measure of our achievement in drawing up this wide-ranging Marxist-Leninist document which is before us; which draws the statement of our immediate tasks out of the analysis of the current situation.

Of course, each Party makes its own assessment of events at home and abroad. We could never hope to draw up a single document which would succeed in combining all the viewpoints of all the Parties. From our point of view, for example, we feel that a rather disproportionately large amount of attention has been devoted to the problems of Europe. We and other people actually engaged in anti-colonialist struggles would surely consider it over-optimistic to imagine the Social-Democrats as partners in an anti-imperialist fighting front; we have fresh memories of the betrayal of the French Socialist Party over Algeria; the abject sell-out of the British Labour Party over Zimbabwe; the role of the West German Social Democrats as part of the Bonn imperialist policy of alliance with fascist South Africa.

But we realise that this is a collective document of the movement as a whole, and we fully accept it and support it as such. We are totally opposed to any procedure of allegedly "improving" it by means of amputating its members or mutilating it.

Comrades, our delegation would like, here, to say a word about the so-called principle of unanimity. It is true that unanimity is a goal towards which we must ever strive. But it would be absurd to elevate this into an absolute principle. We may not like to talk of 'majorities' and 'minorities' in a gathering such as this. But we are not lawyers and we are not a debating society; we are a gathering of practical revolutionaries engaged in a life-and-death struggle whose outcome will decide the future of mankind. We dare not allow ourselves to be placed in a position where a few Parties, or even a single Party can be given a power of veto which would, in effect condemn our movement to paralysis. We appeal to all our comrades here, to their Central Committees, to participate in endorsing this unity-building document. If they will not do it now, immediately, we trust that they will consider their position soon after we have concluded our deliberations and associate themselves. But

if nearly all our Parties want to sign this document now they must be free to do so.

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Dear Comrades, we are well aware that we have not come here to engage in polemics with the rather puerile 'ideological' propositions advanced by the Maoist group. We have no intention of doing so. But when it comes to the external activities of the Chinese government which impinge on our struggle against imperialism, which so far from advancing that struggle positively impede it and are in practice aiding and abetting the enemy, this is something we cannot afford to ignore. Our Party vigorously condemns the border provocations committed against the Soviet Union, the citadel of socialism and mainstay of the anti-imperialist forces everywhere. We were deeply impressed by the speech of the West German Communist Party delegate, when he gave such striking evidence of collusion between the Maoists and the Bonn imperialists.

For a number of years we have seen the sidetracking and disruption of various international solidarity organisations by Chinese delegations who persisted in dragging into gatherings of non-Communists their alleged 'ideological' campaign against the CPSU and the world communist movement. At one time the People's Republic of China rendered valuable assistance to the African National Congress, the fighting national liberation movement of our country. But for several years, and without reason or explanation, this aid has been withdrawn; instead we find the Maoists subsidising and actually preserving from complete collapse a group of right-wing renegades from our struggle whom documentary evidence now proves to have been started at the instance, and with the support, of the CIA.

Our movement has not, and should not, shut the door to any Communist Party. We have invited the Communist Party of China to every meeting at every stage of the convocation and preparation of this conference. They have refused even to accept our invitations; they have accused the Communists of all the world of being 'revisionists' and 'renegades'. The world may judge to whom those descriptions more fittingly apply.

Comrades, it is fitting indeed that our notable meeting takes place on the eve of the centenary of the birth of that great genius of our movement, founder of the Soviet State and leader of the oppressed and working people the world over—Lenin the Liberator. We must congratulate the initiators and the drafters of the fine address on this occasion which has been placed before us.

We believe that our meeting has been worthy of this momentous occasion, that it will go down as a turning point from which we shall go forward in greater unity than ever to rally our own forces and all fighters against imperialism, for fresh advances, fresh victories for the cause of human liberation.

Comrades, we are a part of the great army of Communists; the greatest army of freedom this earth has ever known. We uphold a glorious and noble cause whose ultimate, world-wide victory is assured. Not one of our

Parties here represented is without its heroes and martyrs of the working class struggle. In the name of these honoured dead, comrades, of all we have fought so hard and so long to attain, here in this city whose very name is an inspiration to every revolutionary, let us rededicate ourselves now to our historic mission—the downfall of imperialism, war, oppression and the exploitation of man by man; the triumph of peace, national freedom, democracy and socialism, all over the world!